THE MUGHAL NOBILITY : A POLITICAL, ADMINISTRATIVE, AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STUDY ; WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE HINDU NOBLE ELEMENTS.

BY

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Certified that the subject of this thesis is the record of work done by Shri Sudhir Kumar Singh, that the content of thesis did not form a basis of the award of any previous degree to his, or, to the best of my knowledge, to anybody else, and that the thesis had not been submitted by him for any research degree in any other University.

In habit and character Sudhir Kumar Singh is a fit and proper person for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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PREFACE

While I was specializing in Medieval Indian history at the M.A. level at the Centre for Historical Studies at the Jawaharlal Nehru University, I wrote one seminar paper on the course offered, i.e., the composition and organization of the Mughal nobility. I chose the Hindu element of the Marathas and composed my paper on the basis of original and secondary sources. I must say that the Mughal nobility was composed of a medley of racial and ethnic elements, e.g., the Iranis, the Turanis, the Afghans, the Shaikhzadas, the Rajputs, the Marathas and so on.

Since then my interest in the organization and composition of the Moghal nobility was born. For my M.Phil. I studied the role and status of the Hindu elements of the Mughal nobility as a whole. For my Ph.d. I have studied the subject as a cohesive whole and have prefixed the title of my thesis as follows,
" The Mughal nobility: A political, administrative and socio-economic study: with special reference to the Hindu noble elements ".

My acknowledgement is first due to my supervisor, Dr. Jayanta Bhushan Bhattacharjee, Professor, department of History, NEHU, Shillong. He guided me in my study from various angles. He took out his valuable time and read out the final draft, and made some invaluable suggestions. My sincere thanks are due to him.

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ABSTRACT

The subject of the nobility during the medieval period of Indian history is an interesting subject for study and research. It is at the sametime a very neglected aspect of the study of medieval Indian history. The Marxist school of historians have hitherto not studied this particular subject. A few non-Marxist historians have dwelt upon this subject but have not studied it systematically. This particular aspect of the study of medieval Indian history provides a great scope for both political and economic historians, because the subjects relevance is related to many aspects - such as political, administrative, military, social, economic and so on. One may assert that the study of the nobility during the medieval Indian period involves only political and administrative themes as the nobility was primarily a political and administrative institution; but when one goes deeper into the study one finds that economic and social implications are also concurrently involved with the so called political and administrative institutionalization of the medieval Indian nobility. Leaving aside the early medieval Indian nobility as it is out of the context of the present study, the later medieval Indian or the Mughal nobility which is the subject of the present research, can be stated to be such an institution which proved to be the very blood-line of the Mughal empire and the empire developed, consolidated, and ultimately eclipsed along with the institution of the nobility, which incidentally also underwent the same historical process, while both the state and the institution of the nobility proved to be crucial and detrimental to each other's existence.

The medieval Indian state,like all the state-systems indifferent ages and places,had distinct features of its own.One of these features was the sustainence of the principle and practice of sharing the political power and authority.First and foremost,it has to be kept in mind that the medieval Indian state as a system or as an institution was alien to the Indian conditions as well as to its people. It was a system the genesis of which lay in the soil of Central Asia and which had been implanted in India,a foreign land,by a handful of Muslims,among the vast multitude of Hindus living in India since times immemorial.

The medieval period of Indian history has often been called the Muslim period of Indian history by the traditional historians only because the Muslims were the rulers.This period has been very conveniently divided into two sub-periods:the period of the Delhi Sultans and the period of the Mughal emperors.In the medieval period as a whole,there was a distinct operation of sharing political authority going on.Although this sharing of power vested in the state - system was a distinctive feature of the medieval period as a whole,during the earlier period it was shared by the Delhi Sultans and the nobles of Central Asian extraction.They were all Muslims.The nobles came alongwith the Sultans from Central Asia,so that the latter could utilize their help and services, for governing an alien people.On the other hand,the cupidity of the recalcitrant nobles who had clan and class ties with the Sultans,had to be checked and satisfied by extending to them some sort of political authority.The situation thus demanded an interaction between the two parties,i.e.,the Sultans and the nobles.Each party was using and at the same-time depending upon the other.However,it is significant to note that the Delhi Sultans did not entertain the services

of the Hindu chiefs as partners and co-sharers of authority even though the Hindus were the original inhabitants of the land, and still exercised considerable influence with the people at the grass-roots level. And this was significant in the ultimate decline and final extinction of the Delhi Sultunate.

Thereafter came the Mughals, and with them came the very same ideology and practice, as also the compulsion of sharing the power in the state-system. Once again the shared power-structure was born out of necessity as well as compulsion. The Mughal rulers had to enlist the services of the nobles of their own land to govern the people of an alien Hindustan. And at the same time the Mughal emperors had to check and satisfy the fissiperous desires of the nobility to keep it under effective control and submission. But the Mughal emperors were different, in so much as they realized that without the help and co-operation of the Hindus, the position of the empire would be insecure in a land predominantly inhabited by the Hindus. Hence the Mughal sought and enlisted the power of Hindu chiefs for the Mughal imperial service. Thus the medieval Indian state was a unique political organisation wherein the highest power was not remaining with the emperors but was being shared by others or the nobles. It was a unique situation because no parallel in history can be traced. If we try to seek a similarity with the western medieval political institutions wherein the institution of the nobility was existent, one may maintain that there was no similarity between the two because in the west the nobility came up due to the weakness of the kings. The feudal lords and barons came to share political power

due to the increasing weakness of the kings and not due to the circumstances prevailing in the medieval Indian state.

Thus the problem of the Mughal nobility is a multi-faceted problem which is not shorn of allied problems such as political,administrative,military,and social and economic. Hence a study of the Mughal nobility becomes all the more imperative in the light of the above mentioned circumstances.

The topic of the present research is " The Mughal nobility: A political,administrative and socio-economic study;with special reference to the Hindu noble elements ". The study begins with the study of the rise of the nobility as a significant factor in the political condition of medieval India.The source of the nobility is traced to Central Asian origin,and its institutionalisation in India under the Muslim kings is determined by the contemporary circumstances which were peculiar as also due to the Islamic character of the medieval Indian state.The nobility was not only a political group but it was a social factor as well, in the medieval Indian,state.These two facts were responsible to give it the crucial place which it received in the medieval Indian state.The study here-after deals with the composition and organisation of the medieval Indian nobility. The transmutory character of the composition of the Mughal nobility is underlined,while the organisation of the Mughal nobility is discussed.Coming to the Hindu constituent of the Mughal nobility,the present study has discussed in detail the role and status of the Rajputs and the Marathas within the confines of the Mughal nobility,and concludes that these Hindu noble elements played a crucial role in the consolidatic and eclipse of the Mughal empire.The role of the nobility in

the Mughal administration has been studied and it has been concluded that there was no branch or activity of the administration which was not out of the periphery of the Mughal nobility. The Mughal nobility was a potent force in the economy of the empire both as patrons and participants.

The activities of the Mughal nobility in the contemporary trading and commercial activities of the empire have been analysed. The activities and role executed by the Mughal nobility in the imperial social structure have been discussed and the social significance of this aristocratic class in the building up of the empire has been analysed. One of the broad conclusions arrived at is that the Mughal nobility was next only to the Mughal emperors in the Mughal state. Thus the Mughal nobility has been viewed upon as the most powerful factor in the empire's strength and power and also in its eventual disintegration in which the jagirdari crisis played no mean part.

CHAPTER I

CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS OF THE PHENOMENON OF NOBILITY

The phenomenon of nobility is a concept and reality of the middle ages. The nobility in that age was a dominant group in the society, in the west as well as in the east. The institution of nobility essentially possessed a legality of its own which provided it with a superior status in the socio-political situation. Thus, the nobility, though a social group, was nevertheless interminably connected and based upon the edifice of politics and the state. The legality of the position of the nobility was essentially and basically hereditary. It was also essential that the nobility should be a restricted and constricted body. In other words, the nobility denoted a privileged section of the society which was naturally small in circumference. It enjoyed social interests and privileges, while the theory and practicality of hereditary succession was provided to it by the state and through the state[1].

The period from the ninth upto the eleventh centuries is generally identified as the first feudal age in Europe. During this period, the term, 'noble', had not acquired any distinctive sense of legality. It existed at the conceptual level only. Ideologically, the nobility was characterized by the

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1. Marc Bloch, Feudal Society, tr. L.A.Manyon, London, 1965, P.283

distinction of birth. It also implied that the nobility possessed a certain amount of wealth and property. During this period, the nobility signified groups of influential people who had come to acquire a dominating position in the social hierarchy, due to the fact that the governments had weakened up in Europe, with the result that the protective ties had become extended. The nobility was composed of the landed gentry, because the nobles used to get land revenues by exercising their influence over the land.

During the later feudal age in Europe, the distinctive meaning of the term 'nobility', underwent significant modifications. The later feudal age in Europe commenced from the thirteent century. During this period, the term, 'nobility', came to signify a distinguished sense of a legal monopoly. The position of the nobility during the early feudal age was de-facto, whereas during the later feudal age this position changed into being de-jure. During the first feudal age in Europe, the nobility was based upon vassalage. But due to contradictory nature of the terms of vassalage, while during the later feudal age, the terms of vassalage were done away with from the institutionalization of the nobility. Thus, theoretically, the nobles ceased to be vassals. Now it was only on the basis of birth that a noble could own up an independent fief. In spite of the fact that there prevailed numerous common features such as military functions, and the general mode of life, the de-facto nobles of the first feudal age and the de-jure nobles of the

later feudal age were very different when looked upon from the point of view of an egalitarian society. The chief differences prevailed in matters of wealth and property, and power and privilege. Thus a hierarchical set-up of the institution of the nobility was evident. These differences were there, tacitly recognizable in the beginning but later on they were confirmed through statutes and customs[2].

The emergence and institutionalization of the nobility in India, during the medieval period, was far different from the European nobility. The nobility in Europe was not 'created' in an artificial and deliberate manner. It emerged out of the exigencies of the times. The chief factor for the emergence of the nobility in Europe was the all pervading weaknesses of the kingship therein. As a result, the European kings began to share state-powers with the influential section of the state, due to which the nobility was institutionalized therein[3]. On the contrary, the institution of nobilityw was a deliberately created one in India so that it could be utilized as a potent factor in the work of the building up of the Indian empire alongwith its consolidation, because, these were the political processes in existence in India throughout the medieval period. The basic cause behind this was that the medieval Indian state was perpretrated by the Central Asian Musllims who were in effect, foreigners in India. The Delhi

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2. Ibid, P.332
3. S.B.P.Nigam, Nobility under the Sultans of Delhi, Delhi, 1968, P.185.

Sultans during the early Muslim period and the Mughal kings during the later Muslim period, were all foreigners.

The Indian nobility during the Delhi Sultunate period influenced the state affairs to a great extent. The nobility during the Delhi Sultunate and the Sultans of Delhi were always inter-locked in a grim tussle for the exact determination of their two-fold relationship. Islam has evolved a definite theory of state and politics. It provides a semi-divine position to an elected Amir-ul-mominin.

Speaking of the character of the nobility during the Sultunate period, an authority writes as such.

"Immediately below the Monarch came his nobles. They usually supported him in power, but at times usurped his functions, and if a ruling dynasty grew weak and effete they stepped into its shoes, and founded a new ruling dynasty of their own. Even if a noble was deposed or otherwise robbed of his position and power, the traditions of former dignity and social honour were unfailingly handed on to his descendants, and with the approbation of the people, who tenaciously adhered to the hereditary principle, restoration to farmer power was only a question of time and opportunity".[4]

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4. K.M.Ashraf, Life and conditions of the people of Hindustan, (Delhi, 1970), P.84

Thus we see that the theory of the election of the Amir-ul-mominin was a Misnomer. There was lacking any workable democratic machinery for election. In actual practice, military superiority was the chief arbiter which decided the political complexion of all Muslim communities. Thus a powerful person who had established his superiority over others through the means of arms, used to surround himself with a halo of divine sactification, so that he be taken to be somewhat different and above his personal rivals. The Delhi Sultans also tried to enhance their position by allowing themselves divine sanctity. But the nobility under them did not recognize this. The nobility on its own part declared that the Sultans were only one among themselves; members of the noble class itself. As such, the nobility declared the Delhi Sultans to be first among equals or as the saying goes, the Sultans were just primus inter-pares[5]. During the medieval age in India, the Islamic state existed because it recognized the nobility as co-sharers in the administration of political power alongside the emperors. Thus it may be stated that a constitutional monarchy was prevailing in medieval India. The privileges and power of the contemporary nobility got recognition, as it was essential for the inner balancing and cohesion of the Islamic medieval Indian state, more so for the latter's consolidation and stabilization.

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5. S.B.P. Nigam, op.cit, PP.182-83

As an authority has so aptly stated,

> "Islam, like Christianity, prescribes no political system and the hadises of the Prophet are remarkably silent on the question. Nevertheless the Quran, which claims to be " a guide and a cure for those who believe", had to lay down the basic principles of the Muslim politico-social order. These principles as we have already seen, are - (a)government must be based on common discussion, and the Prophet is directed by the Quran to consult the Mussalmans in their affairs;.............."[6].

Again, the same authority states,

> "So monarchy and a governing class came into existence and continued for centuries; only in the present generation are the Muslim countries learning how to do without them. Now the Prophet's Shari'at does not know of either institution,

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6. K.A.Nizami, ed, Politics and Society during the early Medieval period, Collected works of Prof. Mohammad Habib, Vol.I, Delhi, 1974, P.95

though later legists recognize them as facts. The Shariat, which does not recognize monarchy, has no law for the succession to the throne; the matter had to be regulated by custom and convention or decided by wars of succession"[7].

I.H.Siddiqui writes in this context,

"The early Sultans of Delhi always paid close attention to the composition and organisation of the nobility, as the entire functioning of the state machinery and the defence of the Empire depended upon the co-operation of the nobles. For this reason the Sultans had to take different factors into consideration with regard to the recruitment of the nobles. They also promoted nobles belonging to different social groups to high positions with a view to maintaining a balance of power among them. The Lodi Sultans whose ancestors had been accustomed to the Indian political system under the Tughlaqs, also followed the traditions of their predecessors in this regard".[8]

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7. Ibid. P.99
8. Irfan Habib (ed), Medieval India. A Miscellany, Vol.IV, I.H.Siddiqui. "The composition of the Nobility under the Lodi Sultans," P.10

The precise character of the Turkish nobility in India was neither feudal nor bureaucratic. However, it can be maintained that those territorial assignments assigned to it which were called 'fiefs', were comparable to the feudal assignments extended to the European feudal lords and barons. Still, the nobility under the Delhi Sultans was not feudal. Because, the nobility was deliberately created by the Delhi Sultans and they did not spring up from any of their weaknesses like its European counterpart. Also, the powers and privileges enjoyed by the nobility during the Delhi Sultunate were granted to it through the state itself, unlike the European feudal powers and privileges which were gathered against the interests of the state. Thirdly, the feudal lords in Europe were empowered with landed privileges, whereas the Turkish nobility was handed over with official powers and privileges. However, there was one striking similiarity between the two in way of the fact that in times of need, both extended military assistance to the kings because both had access to military powers[9].

During the later period of medieval Indian history, i.e. the Mughal period, the institution of the nobility as it was, was also not either comparable to the Roman nobility or the medieval European nobility of the feudal times. The

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9. S.B.P.Nigam, op.cit. PP.185-86

Mughal nobility comprised state-officers who were in the service of the Monarchs. At the same level they also constituted the superior class in the political order. The Mughal nobility, unlike its European counterpart, was not a landed gentry. Because, the jagirs or the revenue assignments of the Mughal nobility were transferable from place to place all over India. As a particular social class, the Mughal nobility could be very easily labelled as an aristocratic socio-political class. But rather a more truthful statement would be that it was a governing class. It exercised an interacting relationship with the Mughal kingship, because the nobility exercised autonomous authority within its own jurisdiction, and also exercised its own restrictions on the authority of the kingship because it acted as a powerful force of decentralization of the governing authority. The nobility helped the Mughal kings with its administrative cooperation and efficiency, while the emperors had also the satisfaction of having submitted the nobility to their own submission and authority. The Mughal state activity was, as can be stated here, in just maintaining the status-quo, by maintaining law and order through civil and military administrations. In this, the nobility participated and thus justified its own situation.

The extent of the Mughal nobility's administrative role extended upto the Mansabdari organization, appertaining to jagirdari and zamindari orders. The military obligation extended upto extra military duties of finance,(diwan) and police,(kotwal). Zamindari, though basically denoted administration of agrarian relations, nevertheless implied military functions. Thus the judiciary, because it was specialized and independent, remained out of the nobility's administrative capacities. By turning the Mughal nobility into an all-India service obligation, its coherence,governing character, and administrative capacity, was kept in tact for a considerable period. However, the policy of maintaining the status-quo followed by the Mughal emperors, which influenced the nobility's role and character, proved to be detrimental in the end. This situation intensified unscrupulousness among the nobility's ranks, limiting in many ways any steadfast loyalty towards the crown, thus brewing up a political crisis for the Mughal empire.

The study of the instututiion of nobility from the socio-political angle also makes it imperative for us to study the institution of feudalism from an exacting viewpoint. It may be stated that the mode of production has been different in the different ages. In ancient times the production was carried on by the institution of slavery as it was when the

slaves did the production-work. In the modern times the mode of production has been capitalistic. During the medieval times, the mode of production was based upon the institution and productive-system which is known as feudalism.

Under feudalism, the economic pattern of life was based in the villages. The society was compartmentally comprising the peasants and the feudal lords. Local consumption of the produce was very much in use and trading facilities were less. Feudalism was characterised by its chief feature which was the exploitation of the peasantry[10]. In Europe, this exploitation of the peasantry was so acute that it took on the form of serfdom. Likewise in India, the nobility, especially the zamindars, partook of a huge amount of the peasant's produce, although, the situation of the Indian peasants was not that of serfs.

The term 'feudal', is derived from the work 'feudum', which originally indicated a 'fief'[11]. In other words, the situation signified lands held on condition of services. Under the feudal system, land had become the real source of power. The crippled peasantry contributed their part of the produce to the lords as tax or rent, or it also had to work for the lords free although their labours were always there.

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10. Arjun Dev, ed, The story of Civilization, Vol.I, Delhi, 1978, P.126.
11. Satish Chandra, Medieval India, Vol.I, Delhi, 1978, P.2

The European feudal system was based upon a hierarchical socio-political order. At the top of the order stood the Monarch. He distributed the fiefs to the Earls and Dukes, who handed them over to the Barons. The knights were the lowest class of the feudal lords. All this portrayed a system of vassalage which was gradual and hierarchical. During the time of any emergency, such as a war, the king used to demand military help from the vassals depended upon him. Because all feudal lords were powerful within their fiefs, by virtue of having possessed soldiers, also by the levying of taxes within their own fiefs, and also by acting as judges and executing punishments and fines against whom complaints were in any case levelled. In Europe, soon enough, the feudal system became hereditary. It assumed a strict and rigid social outlook which were based on the crystallization of the class-differences.

The peasantry under the feudal system signified the lowest but on the other hand, the largest class, numerically. The peasantry was too divided into various categories. The first category of the peasants may be stated that of the free-holders[12]. The free-holders received land from the lords and managed them on their own. They did not work for the lords but instead paid them taxes. The second category of peasantry

12. Arjun Dev, ed, op.cit. P.129

was called the villeins[13]. The villeins gave a part of their produce to the lords. They also worked on the fields of the lords for a definite period, although most of the time they worked on the land which they had received from the lords. The category of peasants which came at the bottom but was strongest of all in number was known as the serfs[14]. The serfs worked wholly on the lords' lands. They performed several services for the lords, for example, repairing a house or a road. These services were forced labour, because the lords would ask for these services at any time without even paying back the labourers. The serfs suffered from and were handicapped from many restrictions and impositions. They were forever tied to the land which belonged to the lords. They could not either change their masters, which was possible only if the lands changed hands. The serfs could not leave the land and whenever apprehended in this act, they were severely punished.

The European feudal system was based upon the Manorial pattern[15]. The Manor was the domain of the lords which contained farms, pasture grounds and common woods. The manor used to support all those who used to work on it. All the activities of economic character, for example, agriculture and artisinal activities were done within the manor itself.

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13. Ibid, P.129
14. Ibid, P.130
15. Ibid, P.131

It can be maintained that the feudal system was successful in creating security and orderliness in the medieval society. The system was instrumental in decentralizing power in-between the kings and the lords. But along with the few merits it had, the feudal system also presented itself with several demerits. It created a strict class system in the medieval social structure. The nobles were oppressive. The system gave incentive to economic stagnation, because all the personal initiative regarding the different economic activities of the peasantry and the artisans was checked in the very start.

However, from the eleventh century, towns and trade once again began to thrive in Europe. The lords now desired for luxury goods which the village-based self-sufficient village economy was unable to provide to them. Due to the Holy wars the west came into contact with the east and this created a situation for the demands of eastern luxury articles. Due to the enlargement in cultivation and agricultural improvements, the peasantry started to exchange their agricultural products with non-agricultural goods. These activities promoted trade and crafts which in turn led to urbanization. All these factors contributed to the decline of the feudal system. The subsequent increase in trade and commerce and the specialization of industries encouraged the merchants to

organize themselves in guilds. In Europe, all this made the merchant elements very important in the society, while at the same time modelled the feudal pattern of economic life.

Feudalism in India developed in a far different manner as was the case with Europe. The two characteristic features of the Manorial system and serfdom which had impregnated the European system were lacking in Indian feudalism[16]. It has been remarked very aptly that evident tremendous differences prevailed between the different feudal systems the world over[17].

Feudalism has been analysed as being,

> "Virtually identical with what we generally mean by force and independently of its own volition to fulfill certain economic demands of an over-lord, whether these demands take the form of services to be performed or of dues to be paid in money or in kind"[18].

The classic form of feudalism was possessed of these chief characteristics. First, a low level of technique with simple instruments of production which are also inexpensive, while the act of production itself is predomi-

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16. Satish Chandra, op.cit. P.2
17. Paul A.Baran, The Political economy of growth, London, 1957, P.137
18. Maurice Dobb, Studies in the development of Capitalism, London, 1963, P.35

nantly individual in character, the division of labour is at a primitive level of development. Secondly, the production work is done for the immediate requirement of a household or a village community, and is not done for a wider market. Thirdly, demesne-farming is executed with. The farming of the lords' estate is done on a larger scale by compulsory labour-services. Fourthly, there exists political decentralisation. Fifthly, there is conditional holding of lands by the lords on some kind of service-tenure. And sixthly, the lords possess judicial or quasi-judicial functions to the dependent population[19].

It can be maintained that Indian feudalism too possessed several of these characteristics. The Kushana period in India heralded the feudal age. But from the Gupta period, particular feudal practices became apparent. By Harsha's time they became very solid[20]. From then, Indian feudalism came to rest on the low level of technique, as was the case with classic feudalism. Moreover, the production work in India was also done for the immediate use of the village community and not for the market. However, the system of demesne-farming was not in exercise in India[21]. In fact, the absence of the system of demesne-farming gave to Indian feudalism an important outlook. The battles in Indian feudalism were waged not between the claimants of any plough and any sword, but between the claimants

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19. Ibid, PP.36-37
20. R.S.Sharma, Aspects of political ideas and institutions in ancient India, Delhi, 1959, PP.236-37
21. D.D.Kosambi, An introduction to the study of Indian history, Bombay, 1956, PP.326-27

of two swords alone. The village community, especially the peasantry remained to be all the way passive in the conflict over the booties of such battles. This situation speaks of the static and stable situation of the Indian village community. The process of political decentralization had been started by the system of land-grants which were specially provided to the Brahmins. These land-grants helped in the decentralization of the sources of revenue along with the police and administrative functional duties. This was made easy by the class of intermediaries who had emerged in the shape of the brahmin feudatories. The contemporary central control of the Mauryan times had in this way given place to decentralization of power during the post-Mauryan and Gupta periods. An intermediary class of a warrior type came into prevalence. The term 'Samanta', signified independent neighbours during the Mauryan period but later on during the sixth century A.D. it signified conquered feudatories[22]. Onwards the Gupta period, the titles of bhogike, bhogipatika, and so on, refer to the emergence of a new official class who lived on the action of the collection of revenue[23]. Political decentralization was carried on by this official class. From the above mentioned reference, it may be said that the fourth, fifth, and the sixth characteristics as mentioned by the scientist Maurice Dobb, were present in the Indian feudal system. However, in spite of

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22. R.S.Sharma, op.cit. P.212
23. Ibid, PP.207-12

such similiarities, the chief difference between Indian and European feudal systems lay in the village community system. The Indian village community system in its particular socio-economic set-up, was relatively impressionable so far as the Indian fêudal system was concerned. It had an equitable combination of agriculture and handicrafts for its economic pattern which in turn provided an equilibrium to the society. The social set-up which was formed of caste-structure and caste- ideologies, checked the different pieces from joining and thus colliding against each other. The Indian village-community, as compared to the European village-community, was very conservative and change-resisting[24]. But it is also correctly stated that the European village community was more brittle than its Indian counterpart[25]. The Indian village-community was self-sufficient and thus was not dependent on anybody else, and stuck to its own inspite of internal and external forces. It was like a republic having imbibed all things within itself. It changed as late as the ninteenth century when the onslaught of British machine - made goods, began.

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24. Paul. M.Sweezy, "A Critique" in "The transition from feudalism to capitalism: A Symposium" Patna, 1957, P.3

25. Ibid, P.35

According to Karl Marx,

"Those small and extremely ancient Indian communities, some of which have continued down to this day, are based on possession in common of the land, on the blending of agriculture and handicrafts, and on an unalterable division of labour, which serves whenever a new community is started, as a plan and scheme ready cut dried"[26].

Again,

"The simplicity of the organisation for production in these self-sufficing communities that constantly reproduce themselves in the same form, and when accidentally destroyed spring up again on the spot and with the same name - this simplicity supplies the key to the secret of the unchangeableness in such striking contrast with the constant dissolution and refounding of Asiatic states, and the never-ceasing changes of dynasty. The structure of the economical elements of society remains untouched by the storm clouds of the political sky"[27].

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26. Karl Marx, Capital, Vol.I, London, 1971, PP.392-94
27. Ibid, PP.392-94

Indian feudalism, due to its differences from classic feudalism, has also been described as quasi-feudalism or feudalistic[28].

> "The basic requisites of a feudal system were present in India. The king granted the revenue from varying proportions of land to his officers or selected holders, who were the equivalent of vassals elsewhere. The tendency from the seventh century onwards of granting land in lieu of cash salaries intensified the feudal process.... The feudatories could hire out their assigned land to cultivators, from whom they collected the revenue agreed upon. Part of the revenue from the land they sent to the king. Out of the revenue retained by the vassal he was expected to maintain the feudal levies which, underlying his oath of loyalty to his king, he was in duty bound to furnish for the king's service"[29].

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28. Romila Thapar, <u>A history of India</u>, Harmondsworth, 1981, P.241

29. Ibid, P.242

Land-grants and subinfeudation during early medieval India, "led to unequal distribution of land and power on a large scale and created new social groups and ranks which did not quite fit in with the existing fourfold varna system"[30]. Speaking of the period A.D.500-1200, the same authority writes of the feudal situation, as consisting of eight categories of feudal vassals of a typical feudal court. The samrat or the king had 4 Mandelesvaras; 12 Mandalikas, 16 Mahasamantas, 32 Samantas, 160 Laghusamantas, and 400 Caturasikas, below them coming the rajaputras[31].

Thus both India and Europe underwent periods of feudalism extending up much the same periods. Indian feudalism possessed both common and uncommon features with European feudalism. The basic difference between the two was the fact that Indian feudalism was based upon the village community system. Land in Indian village economy had belonged to the village and not to the private individuals. But from the fourteenth century onwards, new elements came forward in the Indian social set-up. This brought forth the feudal integument. In the economic sphere constant interference by the state, in the village economic structure, for the

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30. R.S.Sharma, Social changes in early medieval India, Delhi, 1969, P.6

31. Ibid, P.7

extraction of more surplus loosened up the autonomous walls of the village republic. Later on, during Sher Shah and Akbar, direct contracts for revenue collection were made with the cultivators. The payment of revenue in cash instead of kind, made easy commodity circulation in villages. Moreover, the Bhakti movement which grew from the rising classes of artisans and traders, gave death-blows to the rigid class and caste structure within the village. The peasant uprisings during the later period of the Mughal empire further corroded the remaining feudal strength. All these factors ultimately worked for the inevitable decline of feudalism in India.

CHAPTER II

COMPOSITION AND ORGANISATION OF THE MEDIEVAL INDIAN NOBILITY

The composition and organization of the medieval Indian nobility may be studied under two heads, the nobility as it was during the early medieval period or as it was under the Delhi Sultans; and secondly the institution as it was under the Mughals, or as it was during the later medieval period.

The Delhi Sultunate was standing on the firm co-operation of its nobility. The nobles were referred as "ahl - i - Shamshir or ahl - i - saif", or "the men of the sword"[1]. The nobles shared the sovereign power, commanded the military and contributed towards the establishment and consolidation of the Delhi Sultunate. Ministers, governors, iqtadars and other executive officers were recruited from among the nobility. Even the post of the Sultan was within reach of an ambitious and capable noble[2].

The nobility was stationed below the Delhi Sultans. Generally, nobles began their carrers as retainers or slaves of the Sultan or any big noble, and gradually attained high offices and became 'Amirs'[3]. During the Sultunate period there was no fixed law of succession and thus the Sultans were ever suspicious of powerful nobles. The nobility was the most

1. J.L.Mehta, Advanced study in the history of Medieval India, Vol.I, Delhi, 1979, P.286
2. Ibid, P.286
3. P.N.Ojha, Aspects of Medieval Indian Society and Culture, Delhi, 1978, P.122

powerful supporting factor of the Sultunate. They exercised a powerful influence over state-affairs during the reigns of weak Sultans. Sultan Balban made attempts to curtail the power of the nobles[4]. The nobility under the Sultunate was composed of Turks, Arabs, Afghans, Persians, Egyptians and Hindustanis. The nobility during this period was not a hereditary, homogeneous, and well-organised body as was the medieval European Nobility. It has been described as a gross caricature of debased feudalism, which finally caused the Delhi Sultunate its downfall[5]. The Delhi Sultans always had to promote different social groups in the nobility so as to maintain a balance of power among them[6].

During the early period of the Delhi Sultunate, the nobility was not consisting of slaves or employees of the Sultan, but his co-heirs. As was the case with Shihabuddin, the nobles were his slaves, and had helped him in building up the empire by a unified enterprise while serving on various posts. Also, the Sultan of Delhi, who was one among the nobles, could attain the royal throne through the consent of the nobility. "The imperial office was elective, at least in form. In practice the leading chiefs, through force and

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4. Ibid, P.122
5. Ibid, P.123
6. Iqtidar Husain Siddiqui, "The composition of the nobility under the Lodi Sultans", Irfan Habib, ed, Medieval India. A Miscellany, Vol.IV, Bombay, 1977, P.10

intrigue, combined to instal or to dethrone the Monarch. Very often their attempt was to put the crown into commission to have a dummy king and to do everything in his name"[7]. However, the absence of the principle and practice of hereditary succession within the confines of the nobility during this period was upto a great extent responsible for the checkmating of its fissiperous tendencies.

The highest title among the Sultunate nobility was that of the Khans[8]. The Maliks followed them. Sipah-salar, and Sar-khel were military ranks."The official status of a noble was determined in relation to what were called the Shughl, the khitab, and the Aqta or their sinecures, their titles of honour, and the assignments of revenue respectively"[9]. The nobles were given the Shughl or the offices at court. Besides this, the nobles were given offices at the royal household, the karkhanas, a few ministries, secretarial offices, governorships of certain districts, and civil and military offices alongwith titles of honour. Some of these titles were, Khvaja-Jahan, Nizam-ul-mulk, Ulugh Khan, and so on. Another significant title was known as <u>Maratib</u>. This signified privileges given to the quality of their dress, swords and daggers presented to them by the Sultan, and the specific number of horses and elephants they were supposed to possess[10].

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7. Mohammad Habib, <u>Politics and society during the early medieval period</u>, Vol.I, New Delhi,1974, P.105
8. K.M.Ashraf, <u>Life and conditions of the people of Hindustan</u>, Delhi,1970, P.84
9. Ibid, P.85
10. Ibid, P.86

As regards the determination of the character of the nobility under the Delhi Sultans, it has been stated that the territorial assignments provided to the nobles were similar to fiefs in European feudalism[11]. On the other hand, the feudal character of the Delhi Sultunate has been critically examined by W.H.Moreland and Prof. Abdur Rashid. According to them, the Sultunate nobility was heterogeneous in character. The Ilbaris dominated the racial character of the nobility during the thirteenth century. However, soon after under the Khaljis and the Tughlags, the nobility assumed a hereditary character[12]. This was due to royal patronage and not due to a matter of right. The nobility existed due to the strength of the crown.

The 'iqta' and the 'muqti' have been described as fiefs of European feudalism. The iqta during the Delhi Sultunate meant assignments of revenue conditional on military services. The iqtas were of varying sizes and were given also to the nobles for purposes other than military and administrative. "Thus iqtas were granted for the maintenance of religious houses, tombs of saints and Sultans, mosques and also to persons for their livelihood who were devoted to religious or literary pursuits"[13]. All the iqtadars were, however, not

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11. S.B.P.Nigam, Nobility under the Sultans of Delhi, Delhi, 1968. P.93
12. Ibid, P.97
13. Ibid, PP.96-97

muqtis as the Muqtis were those who held the administrative charges of the territories. They had none territorial position of their own and could not claim any particular region. Their services remained so alongwith the discretion of the Sultan.

Thus it can be maintained that the ambitious military officers commanded several men so as to carve out principalities for themselves. They gave lands to their junior officers for governing them, which however remained not so perfect from the administrative point of view[14]. The actual cultivators resembled their counterpart in European feudalism.

Being of a heterogenous body, the nobility under the Delhi Sultans was in the beginning Turkish. The Afghans came at a later date. Some Mongols who had taken to Islam were also incorporated into the nobility. They were called Nau - Muslims[15]. But the Turks were in majority. "If the personnel of the Turkish government in India is analysed as a whole, it will be found that Ministers, high officers, provincial governors, members of the judiciary and commanders of the forces, were mostly Turks"[16]. Due to their political domination, the Turkish nobility enjoyed all the revenues of

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14. Ibid, PP.100-101
15. K.M. Ashraf, op.cit, P.95
16. K.A.Nizami, Religion and Politics in India during the Thirteenth century, Delhi, 1974, P.105

Hindustan. It was only later on under the Khaljis that the Delhi Sultunate underwent a major change and became what can be described as a Indo-Muslim state[17].

At the court the Sultan was always surrounded by his Ministers who were able and experienced. He sought their advice and counsel and kept in touch with public opinion[18]. He bowed before stronger elements of the nobility although there were no representative institutions. The Ministers were in fact servants of the crown and responsible to it[19]. Their position was well-defined by law and sanctified by customs.

Now we give a list of important nobles during the period of Delhi Sultunate[20].

	Name	Rank
1.	Khan-i-Jahan	12,000 Sawars
2.	Husain Khan	12,000 Sawars
3.	Tatar Khan	15,000 Sawars
4.	Isa Khan	Kampil, Bhogaon
5.	Qutb Khan	Rapri, Chandwar
6.	Dariya Khan	Sambhal
7.	Barbak Shah	Jaunpur
8.	Azam Humayun	Kalpi

17. Ibid, P.106
18. I.H.Qureshi, The administration of the Sultunate of Delhi Delhi, 1971, P.78
19. Ibid, P.78
20. Iqtidar Husain Siddiqui, op.cit. PP.46-66

	Name	Rank
9.	Alam Khan	Chandwar
10.	Nizam Khan	Delhi
11.	Jamal Khan	Hisar Firuza
12.	Mubarak Khan	Jaunpur, Kara
13.	Ibrahim Khan	Etawah
14.	Sher Khan	Kara
15.	Umar Khan	Shahabad
16.	Ahmad Khan	Bayana
17.	Himat Khan	Ludhiana
18.	Firoz	Pail
19.	Mian Gadai	Qunauj
20.	Mian Maruf	Qunauj
21.	Husain Farmali	Saran
22.	Tatar Khan	Mahrera
23.	Khwaja Said	Hariyana
24.	Ahmad Khan	Mewat
25.	Ali Khan	Koil
26.	Mubaniz Khan	Baran
27.	Iqbal Khan	Bari
28.	Mubarak Khan	Saket
29.	Rai Pratap	Bhogaon, Kampil
30.	Rai Karan	Shamsabad
31.	Rai Tilok Chand	Baksar
32.	Rai Duru	Etawah
33.	Shakti Singh	Etawah
34.	Daulat Khan	Masnad-i-ali
35.	Mubarak Khan	"
36.	Ahmad Khan	"
37.	Husain Khan	Khan-i-Jahan
38.	Khusran Khan	Azam Humayun
39.	Bhikkan Khan	Masnad-i-ali
40.	Ali Khan	"
41.	Mahmud Khan	"
42.	Jamal Khan	Khan-i-Azam

	Name	Rank
43.	Taj Khan	Masnad-i-ali
44.	Umar Khan	Khan-i-Azam
45.	Ibrahim Khan	Masnad-i-ali
46.	Said Khan	Khan-i-Azam
47.	Alauddin	Masnad-i-ali
48.	Mubarak Khan	"
49.	Ibrahim Khan	"
50.	Dariya Khan	"
51.	Nasir Khan	"
52.	Sher Khan	"
53.	Ismail Khan	"
54.	Khan-i-Khanan Nuhani	Khan-i-khanan
55.	Nathu	Mālik
56.	Malik Luqman	"
57.	Malik Bustan	"
58.	Isa Khan	Masnad-i-ali
59.	Daulat Khan	Naib
60.	Muhammad Farmali	Masnad-i-ali
61.	Tatar Khan	Khan
62.	Khwaja Said	Masnad-i-ali
63.	Todar Mal	"
64.	Shaikh Gadai	"
65.	Mian Maruf	"
66.	Mian Taha	"
67.	Khan-khanan	Khan-i-khanan
68.	Imad	"
69.	Mian Sulaiman	"
70.	Husain Khan	Masnad-i-ali
71.	Shaikh Muhammad	"
72.	Shaikh Jamal	"
73.	Mian Zain-al-Din	"
74.	Mian Zabaral-Din	"
75.	Tajuddin Khan	"

	Name	Rank
76.	Umar Khan	Masnad-i-ali
77.	Jamal Khan	"
78.	Mian Juman	"
79.	Shaikh Daud	"
80.	Shaikh Habib	"
81.	Jalal	"
82.	Shaikh Ghuran	"
83.	Muhammad Khan	"
84.	Khwaja Bain	"
85.	Muiz-al-din Khan	Malik
86.	Safdar Khan	"
87.	Haji Sarang Khan	Sarang Khan
88.	Husain Khan	"
89.	Firuz Aghwan	"
90.	Ismail	Malik
91.	Aadruddin Khan	Malik
92.	Masnad-i-ali Bhua	Masnad-i-ali
93.	Rai Ganesh	Rai
94.	Bahid	"
95.	Salbahan	"
96.	Parem Deo	"
97.	Malik Roop Chand	Malik
98.	Hasan Khan	Masnad-i-ali
99.	Ilyas Khan	Khan
100.	Abul Fath	Malik
101.	Ali Khan	Khan-i-khanan
102.	Mian Mustafa	Oudh
103.	Samru	Oudh
104.	Bikramjit	Shamsabad
105.	Muhammad	Koil
106.	Muhammad Khan	Jehtra
107.	Qazi Siya	Awadh
108.	Mian Malih	Arwal

	Name	Rank
109.	Husain Khan	Rapri
110.	Malik Usman	Malik
111.	Malik Adam	Malik, Lucknow
112.	Umar	Jetroli
113.	Mian Zaitun	Agra, Dholpur
114.	Ahmad Khan	Durweshpur
115.	Jalal Khan Lodi	Kalpi
116.	Khizr Khan	Itawah
117.	Ahmad Khan	Lucknow

The origin of the Mughal nobility as an institution may be traced back to the organization of the nobility as it was accomplished by the renowned conqueror and administrator of Central Asia, Chingiz Khan[21]. Previous to him it were the different tribes which had control over individual members or the nobles. But alongwith the rise to power of Chingiz Khan and with the sanction of divinity attached to his personality, the power of the tribes was also physically transferred to him. The Yasayas or the Decrees of Chingiz Khan were binding on everybody. The decrees were the highest decrees in the land. For the first time thus, the person and property of the nobles belonged to the King, whose control over the nobles was supreme. At this initial stage only Mongol elements were

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21. U.N.Day, *The Mughal Government*, Delhi, 1970, P.181

recruited within the nobility. But along with the rise of Amir Timur, other elements such as the Turks were also included into the nobility's force. By the time Babur became the ruler of Kabul, the nobility had come to be formed of elements such as Turanis, Mirzas, Mongols, Uzbeks, Iranis and the Afghans. Babur also exercised absolute control over the nobility. When he came to India he brought with himself the institution of nobility as it had developed under the Chagtais. It was his grand-son, Akbar who created a homogenous nobility from multi-racial and religiously hetrogenous elements, which came to be recognized as the Mughal nobility of Hindustan.

Thus, the Mughal nobility was created by the emperor, in theory. He was the sole authority who had the power to confer, increase, decrease or resume the Mansab of the nobles. The nobility was composed of the Khanazads, zamindars and nobles coming from other states. The most important factor of consideration for appointment as nobles was the heredity factor. The Khanazads who were the sons of descendants of the already existing mansabdars, had the most significant and advantageous position[22]. Nobles were also recruited from such classes who did not belong to the category of the nobles. There were many such classes. Many held distinction and power

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22. Athar Ali, The Mughal nobility under Aurangzeb, Bombay, 1966, P.11

in the land. This group belonged of the zamindars and the chiefs, within the empire. Their already existing ancestral properties were treated as watan - jagirs. But as they were recruited in the Mughal nobility, ordinary jagirs were assigned to them[23]. Apart from these, there were nobles coming from other states. They were recruited within the Mughal nobility on account of their experience, status, and influence[24] For example, Husain Pasha, the ottomon Governor of Basra was such a Mughal noble. Persian, Chagtai, Uzbek and Deccani elements came within this force. Some nobles within the Mughal nobility could not claim high birth. These were such nobles who were strictly administrators, such as accountants. The Khatris, Kayasthas, etc. were such nobles. Some of them such as Raja Todar Mal under Akbar and Raja Raghunath under Aurangzeb, rose to high positions of Diwan, etc. These were the other Hindu nobles, other than the Rajputs and the Marathas. During 1658-1707 there were twenty such "other Hindu" nobles. Last of all, scholars, men of letters and religious divines were also made nobles or mansabdars. For example, Abul Fazl during Akbar and Saadullah Khan and Danishmand Khan during Shahjahan, Fazil Khan, Munshi Qabil Khan, Inayatullah Khan Kashmiri, were such very nobles.

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23. Ibid, P.13

24. Ibid

Composition of the Mughal Nobility

The first phase of the transmutational development of the Mughal nobility can be marked out as consisting of the reigns of Babur, Humayun and Akbar. The nobility's structure was now formed of certain well-defined and recognizable racial and ethnic groups. These were the Turanis (Central Asians), Iranis(Persians), Afghans, Shaikhzadas (Indian Muslims) and the Rajputs. As the Mughal empire advanced into the Deccan, the Deccan elements such as Bijapuris, Haidrabadis, and the Marathas, entered the Mughal nobility. But this was later on, under Shahjahan and Aurangzeb.

The Mughal nobility, therefore, was diversified in Character. Rather, the situation was that of diversity in unity.

The foreign nobles comprised of two chief classes - the Turanis and the Iranis. The Turanis were persons coming from Central Asia. They came from the north of the Oxus, while the Iranis came from the south of the Oxus[25]. The Turanis were sunnis, and they were well treated by the Mughal emperors. Their numbers were high and this gave them an advantage over other nobles. Coupled with their civil and military abilities, they became an influential class within the Mughal empire.

25. R.P.Khosla, Mughal Kingship and Nobility, Allahabad, 1934, P.227

However, from Jahangir's time, the decline in the numbers and position of the Turani nobles was evident. The Iranis who were also called Khurasanis and Iraqis, were Persian speaking people. They were fewer in number than the Turanis and were Shias[26]. Humayun elevated many Iranis to high positions. They were in too much love and longing for their own country and so they did not merge with other classes of Hindustan[27]. The Iranis were regarded as very cultured and they were specially favoured under both Jahangir and Shahjahan[28]. The Iranis maintained their position throughout the Mughal rule because of their influx from the Deccani states to the fore of the Mughal nobility.

Another racial group of nobles was that of the Afghans. They came from the region between the Indus on the east and Kabul and Kandhar on the west[29]. Their number was even more than the Mughals themselves. Some of them were on high positions but most of them were too rough for civil services[30]. Akbar and Shahjahan mistrusted them. Even Aurangzeb in his early years mistrusted them and did not allow them high positions. There were three Afghans of the rank of 5000 and above, in 1658-79 and there were ten in the same category during 1679-1707[31].

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26. Ibid, P.228
27. Ibid
28. Athar Ali, op-cit., P.19
29. R.P. Khosla; op.cit., P.228
30. Ibid, P.228
31. Athar Ali; op.cit., P.21

The Afghans were essentially tribal and remained tribal leaders appointing their own men even when in Mughal service. They spread disturbances and their power increased after the death of Aurangzeb.

The Shaikhzadas or the Indian Muslims born in India belonged to certain important clans, such as the Saiyads of Barha and the Kambus. They were the descendants of foreign immigrators in the second or the third generation[32]. They regarded themselves as Indians and lived the Indian way of life. They did not cherish any foreign sympathies. These Indian Muslims who had leading positions in the Mughal empire from Akbar's time, were in decline during Aurangzeb. This was because of the entry of foreign Muslim elements in the Mughal nobility. Aurangzeb distrusted them because the Saiyads of Barha had supported Dara Shikoh in the war of succession. Later on, such elements as the Deccanis and the Kashmiris joined the Indian Muslims to the fore of the Mughal nobility[33]. This was under Aurangzeb.

Yet another group of the Mughal nobles consisted of the Taimurides or the Mirzas who had come to India with Humayun. They also remained dominant under Akbar. They wanted

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32. R.P. Khosla; op.cit., PP.228-229
33. Athar Ali; op.cit., P.21-22

to be co-sharers in the Mughal central authority. Thus they wanted to equal the emperor in the task of sovereignty[34]. Their lineage was important. Even as minors they sometimes got mansabs. Muhammad Husain Mirza, Ibrahim Mirza, Husain Mirza, and Akil Mirza were enrolled as Akbar's nobles though they were still minors. They craved for a feudal system in which they could receive the highest grades, and for this reason they were always rebelling against the authority. They did not favour a centralised authority. They aimed that the active rule of the Mughal emperor should be remained confined to Delhi and its neighbourhood, while the rest of the country should be put under the control of local chiefs with absolute power within their own jagirs, with nothing to do with the central aurhority[35].

There were the Deccanis too as a group of nobles. The term 'Deccani' denoted a person coming from the south. The Mughals termed as Deccanis all those nobles who had belonged to the Deccan kingdom and had taken up services with them[36]. There were foreigners as well as Hindustanis, those born and bred in India, among the Deccanis. These were specially nobles belonging to the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golcunda. There were the Turanis, Iranis, Afghans, and

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34. R.P. Khosla; op.cit., P.230
35. Ibid, PP.230-231
36. Athar Ali; op.cit., P.26

Marathas are listed separately. Under Aurangzeb, specially during his early years, the Deccanis did not form a large proportion of the Mughal nobility. They were also regarded as a subordinate class of the nobles. The jagirs in the Deccan, largely alloted to the Deccanis, were made on the lowest month-scales. Under Shahjahan himself, the practice of deducting a fourth part of the Deccani's pay claim, had already attained the position of an established rule. This was followed on by Aurangzeb during his early period. All the Deccanis had to live by this deduction. However, the situation changed after 1681. During this period of the annexation of the Deccan, large numbers of Deccani nobles were enlisted in the Mughal nobility. The Bijapuris, Haiderabadis, and the Marathas either surrendered their strongholds or joined the Mughal service when Bijapur and Golcunda were finally conquered by the Mughals. The policy of bribing them, especially the Marathas, was also in force for sometime.

A very significant racial and ethnic group in the Mughal nobility was that of the Rajputs. The Rajputana became a strong focul point in the conquest policy of the Mughals from Akbar's time onwards. Thus from this period we witness the intrusion of the defeated Rajputs in the Mughal nobility. The policy of conciliation was also taken up by Akbar. Those Rajputs who accepted the Mughal sovereignty without the use

of force were honourably treated and given Mughal imperial service. The situation remained more or same during Jahangir. Under Shahjahan, because by this time nearly the entire Rajputana was under the Mughal control, the situation for the Rajputs changed somewhat, and their numbers within the Mughal nobility did not rise much. Under Aurangzeb the situation of the Rajputs declined.

Another significant Hindu ethnic group within the Mughal nobility was that of the Marathas. The Marathas entered the fore of the Mughal nobility during its later phase. This was under Shahjahan, or more specifically under Aurangzeb. This was when the empire expanded towards the Deccan. The establishment of an independent state of the Marathas by Shivaji, necessitated the need for the services of the Marathas as felt by the Mughals, in the wars in the Deccan. However, the policy of winning over the Marathas ended in failure[37]. Some Maratha Chiefs were won over by the Mughals. But others took to building strongholds, and ravaging and harming the Mughal territories. This was because the Marathas did not possess the clan-system wherein the Chiefs' submission meant the submission of the entire clan. They specialized in plunder and loot, and were satisfied with these. Thus under Aurangzeb, the Maratha nobility remained to be very unstable.

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37. Athar Ali, op.cit., P.30

The following is a chart of the Hindu Mansabdars or nobles during the Mughal period[38].

	Akbar 1595	Shahjahan 1628-58	Aurangzeb 1658-1707
5000 and above	1	12	36
3000 to 4500	1	22	54
1000 to 2700	6	64	197
500 to 900	14	-	-
	22	98	287

The following is a list of the Hindu Mansabdars or nobles during the reign of Akbar[39].

7000

1. Mansingh of Jaipur

5000

2. Bhagwan Das of Jaipur
3. Bhar Mall of Jaipur

4000

4. Todar Mall, Finance Minister
5. Rai Singh of Bikaner
6. Jagan Nath, son of Bhar Mall of Jaipur

38. Ibid, P.31
39. Sri Ram Sharma, The Religious policy of the Mughal emperors, Bombay, 1972, PP.78-79

2000

7. Birbar
8. Ram Chandra Baghela
9. Kalyan Mall
10. Surjan
11. Bhao Singh
12. Ram Das Kachhwaha
13. Maha Singh

1500

14. Durga Sassodia

1200

15. Rai Shal

1000

16. Rupsi
17. Udai Singh
18. Jagmal
19. Asakarn
20. Kalyan Das

900

21. Pratap Singh
22. Jagar Singh
23. Raj Singh
24. Bhoj

700

25. Bihari
26. Rao Pitri Das
27. Medni Pat Chauhan
28. Babu
29. Salahadi

500

30. Parmanand
31. Jagmall
32. Bhim
33. Arjun Singh
34. Sahal Singh
35. Ram Chandra Bundela
36. Ram Chandra
37. Dalpat

400

38. Shakti Singh
39. Manohar
40. Ram Chandra Kachhwaha
41. Balaka Kachhwaha

300

42. Bal Chandra Rathor
43. Keshar Das
44. Tulti Das Yadar
45. Krishna Das
46. Man Singh Kachhwaha
47. A Raja of Orissa

250

48. Jagar Singh
49. Mathra Das Khatri
50. Sanwal Das Yadav
51. Mathra Das

The following is a list of the Hindu Mansabdars or nobles during the reign of Shahjahan[40].

5000

1. Raja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur
2. Raja Jagat Singh of Udaipur
3. Raja Jai Singh of Jaipur
4. Raja Bithal Das Gaur

4000

5. Raja Rai Singh

3000

6. Raja Pahar Singh Bundela
7. Rao Satarsal Hada
8. Madho Singh Hada
9. Udaji Ram
10. Parsoji Bhonsla
11. Jadu Rai
12. Mankoji Nimbalkar
13. Rawat Rai
14. Dattarji

2500

15. Raja Devi Singh Bundela

2000

16. Raja Rajrup
17. Rao Karn Bhurtiya
18. Raja Jairamdas Borgojar
19. Prithvi Raj Rathor
20. Rup Singh Rathor

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40. S.R.Sharma, op.cit., PP.108-109

21. Ram Singh Rathor
22. Patoji
23. Arirai
24. Babaji

1500

25. Rawal Punja
26. Ratan Rathor
27. Rao Rup Singh Chandrawat
28. Chand Ratan Bundela
29. Sujan Singh Sissodia
30. Rai Todar Mall (Diwan)
31. Anrodh
32. Shivram
33. Raiba Dakhanni

1000

34. Rawal Samarsi
35. Raja Gursen
36. Raja Prithi Chand
37. Raja Badan Singh Bhadorya
38. Kanwar Ram Singh
39. Gopal Singh Kachhwaha
40. Pratap
41. Girdhar Das Gaur
42. Rai Singh
43. Arjun
44. Rai Singh Jhala
45. Raja Amar Singh
46. Bhojrai Dakhanni
47. Rai Kashi Das
48. Rai Dayanat Rai
49. Rai Bhar Mal
50. Mahesh Das Rathor
51. Raja Tralok Chand Kachhwaha

The following is a list of the Hindu Mansabdars or nobles during the reign of Aurangzeb[41].

7000

1. Raja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur
2. Sambhaji
3. Sahu

6000

1. Maharana Raj Singh of Udaipur
2. Rai Bhan
3. Rao Kanhoji
4. Achpat Nayar
5. Satvad Dafalya
6. Santaji Jadun
7. Kaj Nayak
8. Bijja Naik Nimbalkar
9. Man (Madan Singh)
10. Makoja Mane

5000

1. Raja Ram Singh
2. Maharana Jai Singh
3. Maharana Amar Singh II
4. Raja Bhim Singh
5. Raja Rai Singh Sassodia
6. Ram Nayak
7. Nagoji Mane
8. Malōji
9. Akhaji
10. Parsoji Bhonsle
11. Blaji Nimbalkar
12. Santaji
13. Ranoji

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41. *Ibid*, PP.160-167

14. Baharaji
15. Shankarji Malhar
16. Jankoji
17. Champat Bundela
18. Bhaku Banjara
19. Sume Shankar
20. Rao Jaswant Singh
21. Jagna Naik
22. Pidya (Piry) Naik
23. Sobhanji
24. Pratap Rao
25. Banne Rao

4000

1. Rao Chattar Sal Bundela
2. Raja Indaraman
3. Raja Bishan Singh
4. Rao Bhao Singh Mada
5. Damoji
6. Jaswant Rao
7. Rambhaji
8. Mahadji Naik Nimbalkar
9. Rai Singh Rathor
10. Dattaji Jadav
11. Banji Dafale

3500

1. Raja Rajrup
2. Rao Karan
3. Raja Anup Singh
4. Raja Anurodh Hada
5. Raja Sujan Singh
6. Raja Udai Singh Bundela
7. Jakia (Jakoji)

3000

1. Raja Man Singh
2. Rao Dalpat Bundela
3. Raja Raghunath
4. Vikram Dev Sassodia
5. Raja Kirat Singh
6. Girdhari Das Gaur
7. Raja Dalip Singh
8. Himmat Rao Koli
9. Durga Das Rathor
10. Raja Sarup Singh
11. Rana Raghunath Chandrawat
12. Raja Ram Singh Hara
13. Man Singh Rathor
14. Indar Singh Rathor
15. Vasudev Singh
16. Udaji Ram
17. Jakoji
18. Parsoji Bhonsle
19. Sundarji
20. Baji Rao
21. Badarji
22. Dholuji
23. Anand Rao
24. Patang Rao
25. Dhanoji
26. Takoji
27. Sambhaji
28. Netoji
29. Doshaji
30. Sujan Singh Sassodia
31. Bhan Purohit
32. Kishnaji
33. Jivaji
34. Antaji

2500

1. Rao Shukh Karan
2. Raja Devi Singh Bundela
3. Raja Bhagwant Singh
4. Rawat Amar Singh Chandrawat
5. Kishan Singh Kachhwaha
6. Raja Ram Singh Hada
7. Rao Budh Singh
8. Sabal Singh Sassodia
9. Mayyaji
10. Sambhoji
11. Mahadji
12. Raghoji
13. Bankoji
14. Kanhoji
15. Baitoji
16. Rustom Rao
17. Babaji Bhonsle
18. Trinbakji Bhonsle
19. Mankoji
20. Bholerao
21. Naroji Raghao
22. Rustom Rao
23. Khandoji Ghorpare
24. Bartoji
25. Rao-Kanjo
26. Dadaji
27. Sadhuji
28. Mahadji

2000

1. Raja Jai Singh II
2. Rai Todar Mal
3. Raja Vikram Singh
4. Medni Singh
5. Ani Rai
6. Raja Indar Singh

7. Raja Pritam Singh
8. Raja Jagat Singh Hada
9. Ram Chand Bundela
10. Bahadur Singh
11. Ram Singh Rathor
12. Puran Mal Bundela
13. Nimaji Shinde
14. Arjoji
15. Mankoji
16. Aooji
17. Dinaji
18. Shiv Singh
19. Lachhman Patel
20. Mahuran
21. Bhupat Singh
22. Madho Narain
23. Vyas Rao
24. Tamaji
25. Bhojraj
26. Jaoji
27. Baithuji
28. Isuji
29. Rao Devaji
30. Nevaji Denami
31. Baliya
32. Thuiaji
33. Dhankoji
34. Bagoji

1500

1. Amar Singh Sassodia
2. Raja Man Singh
3. Amar Singh Kachhwaha
4. Bir Singh
5. Raja Ajit Singh
6. Chaturbhuj Chauhan
7. Raghunath Singh Rathor

8. Udai Singh Mertia
9. Manchat Das Sassodia
10. Rai Mukand
11. Indar Man Bundela
12. Gopal Singh Kachhwaha
13. Jagat Singh
14. Kesari Singh
15. Mitra Sen Bundela
16. Raja Mokham Singh
17. Kishan Singh Tomar
18. Udai Bhan Rathor
19. Jagram Kachhwaha
20. Durga Singh
21. Pahar Singh
22. Bijai Singh
23. Harjas Gaur
24. Dakoji
25. Krishnaji
26. Ramaji
27. Sambhaji
28. Jadaunji
29. Akoji
30. Anchi Achal Rao
31. Shivaji Nelkar
32. Banbir Rao
33. Hanbir Rao
34. Kang Naik

1000

1. Guman Singh
2. Raja Maha Singh Bhadorya
3. Raja Sher Singh
4. Raja Kalyan Singh
5. Raja Udai Singh
6. Rawat Jaswant Singh
7. Sultan Singh
8. Kapur Singh Mada

9. Gopal Singh Chandrawat
10. Virbhan
11. Purahotam Singh
12. Padam Singh
13. Chet Singh
14. Bhagwant Das
15. Surajmal Gaur
16. Arjun Gaur
17. Dal Singh Sassodia
18. Raja Ram Das Kachhwaha
19. Badan Singh Bhadorya
20. Bahadur Singh
21. Suraj Mal
22. Raghunath Ghorpara
23. Khandoji
24. Rao Man
25. Mahoji
26. Prabladji
27. Ambaji
28. Chatroji
29. Ratan Rao
30. Narsingh Rao
31. Raja Bhagwant Singh
32. Lang Nayak
33. Sujan Rao
34. Dayant Rai
35. Sahar Sal Rathor
36. Manaji
37. Gharkuji
38. Maluji
39. Baluji
40. Ambaji
41. Naboji
42. Rao Joghat
43. Birumji
44. Man Singh

45. Jagdev Rao
46. Jagdar
47. Raghoji
48. Netaji
49. Bagaji
50. Baherji
51. Sambhaji
52. Sidhuji
53. Ram Rao

Organization of the Mughal Nobility

The Mughal nobility was organized on the Jagirdari and the Mansabdari scales.

The Jagirdari system was an administrative system through which the land revenue was assigned in lieu of a salary which was called the jagir[42]. The jagirdary system did not affect the hereditary rights of the intermediaries who were collectively known as the zamindars. The income of the jagir was theoretically equal to that of the salary of the mansabdar. The assessment and determination of this income was done by the state. The Mansabdar made his own arrangement for the revenue-collection. The higher mansabdars kept their own staff consisting of the amils, Gumashtas, writers etc. The smaller mansabdars used to farm out the revenue of their jagirs known as the ijara system. When a

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42. U.N. Day, op.cit, PP.186-187.

jagir was transferred or so long as it remained unassigned, it was kept as Paibaqi and remained in the charge of the Central Diwan, quite same as was the case with the Khalsa lands. A jagirdar was often granted a conditional (Mashrut) sawar rank when he was entrusted with some task and he needed an additional force for its discharge.

Akbar had began the process of enrolling the hereditary chiefs in the state service by granting them mansabs. Thus he also came to know the income of the hereditary estates of the nobles. This hereditary right was termed as their 'watan'. Thus the total jagir-assignment included the nobles' watan jagirs and their additional revenue assignments granted by the state[43]. By thus bringing the hereditary territories of the chiefs in the category of jagirs, the state put them under the same rules and regulations which governed the imperial jagir lands.

The term 'Mansab' meant office, position or rank. It indicated the position of its holder in the official Mughal hierarchy. A mansab was in itself not an office. Apart from determining the position of its holder, it fixed his salary and put him under an obligation to maintain a certain number of troopers with horses and other military equipments[44]. The Mughal mansabdars owed a direct subordination

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43. ibid, P.188
44. Athar Ali, op.cit., P.38

to the emperor. The Mughal mansabdari system was a dual system, in fact. One was known as the Zat (personal) rank and the other was known as the Suwar (cavalry) rank.

Now the main features of the Mansabdari system will be discussed here. We will discuss the Zat and the Suwar ranks here.

Zat rank :

The chief frame-work of the Zat rank developed during the latter part of Akbar's reign. The Zat rank has been classified into three classes[45]. The monthly or the Zat rank salary of the mansabdar varied according to his Suwar rank. The first category of mansabdars belonged to that class of officers who held equal Zat and Suwar ranks. The second category consisted of those who had the Suwar rank just half the Zat rank. The third category consisted of those who had even lower than the half Suwar rank in comparison to the Zat rank[46]. Out of the total emoluments which the mansabdars got, they were supposed to maintain horses, elephants, other beasts of burden and carts etc. This was known as Khurak-i-dawab. Out of the total balance he had to maintain his household. For example, the monthly salary of a mansabdar with 100/100 rank would have been 700 rupees,

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45. Abdul Aziz, The Mansabdari system & the Mughal army, (Lahore, 1945), P.47

46. Ibid, P.47-48

while that of a rank-holder of 100/0 would have been 500 rupees[47]. These salaries are given for the Zat ranks. Early in Shahjahan's reign the scale of the Zat rank salaries was materially revised. In comparison to Shahjahan's or Aurangzeb's reign, Akbar's mansabdars got a comparetively much higher pay. The mansabdars in Shahjahan and Aurangzeb's reign pocketed the pay of the troopers out of every three or three troopers out of every four. Thus mansabdari had assumed a much profitable character in the later Mughal period. It is also to be borne in mind that during the later Mughal period, mansabdari was possessed of a heavier list.

Suwar rank :

It was by the latter period of Akbar's time that the mansabdari system came to be consisted of two or dual ranks. Thus the Zat and the Suwar ranks came into formation[48]. Thus all the mansabdars holding the Zat rank were classified into three classes. First, those Suwar ranks which equalled the Zat rank, secondly - Suwar rank almost the half of the Zat rank, and thirdly - Suwar rank less than half of the Zat rank[49]. This was done so as to induce the mansabdars to maintain larger contingents. With a high Suwar rank the Zat

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47. Ibid, PP.58-59
48. Ibid, P.70
49. Ibid, P.72

rank salary was also made to be higher, and thus the status of the mansabdar also increased. The mansabdars who held Suwar rank had to maintain the entire number of cavalry denoted by that rank.

Another feature was added to the mansabdari system during the reign of Jahangir. This feature was the introduction of the du - aspa sih-aspa rank[50]. Some Suwars out of the total contingent were thus made the du-aspa sih-aspa, under Jahangir. Mahabat Khan was first of all granted this rank. It was granted frequently under Shahjahan. Under Aurangzeb, the number of such mansabdars increased on. The du-aspa sih-aspa rank was theoretically regarded as a part of the Suwar rank. It did not exceed the Suwar rank. The portion apart from the du-aspa sih-aspa of any rank was called barawardi. For example, out of 4000 sawars, 1000 were du-aspa sih-aspa and 3000 were barawardi. For du-aspa sih-aspa the pay and military obligations of the mansabdars were doubled.

Conditional or Mashrut ranks were of ten added to the previous Zat and Suwar ranks[51]. The unconditional Suwar mansab was extended along with the Zat rank. The conditional or mashrut mansab was handed over to the mansabdars in return of services required at a particular post by them.

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50. Athar Ali, <u>op.cit</u>., P.42
51. <u>Ibid</u>, P.41

The Mughal nobles got their pay from the state, in cash and in jagir form. The pay of the mansabdars were determined by the mansabs or ranks held by them. Often, the nobles were paid 'inam' which was additional pay for them.

The feature of month-scales or ratios appeared in the reign of Shahjahan but soon spread on. It arose out of the difference between official assessment of jagir (jama) and the actual revenue collection (hasil).

CHAPTER - III

THE HINDU ELEMENT OF THE MUGHAL NOBILITY - THE RAJPUTS

The Rajputs dominated the Indian political scene from the middle of the seventh century to the close of the twelfth century. Thus, on the eve of the Muslim invasion of India, the Rajputs held the political power in northern and western India[1]. The political instability after the downfall of the Gupta empire, and thereafter following Harsha's death, in northern India, was checked and stabilized by the Rajputs, i.e. the Gurjara-pratiharas.

The discussion over the origin of the Rajputs has now become more than five decades old. There is no equinamity of arguments regarding the origin of the Rajputs.

The Gurjara-Pratiharas were chronologically the earliest and historically the most prominent among the Rajputs dynasties. Their origin lies unexplained and undecided due to the conflict of arguments. The theory of their solar descent clashes with the "Jackson-Bhandarkar theory" of their foreign origin[2]. Likewise, the story of the fire-pit on the summit

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1. V.A.Smith, Oxford History of India, Calcutta, 1951, P.190
2. B.N. Puri, The History of the Gurjara-Pratiharas, Bombay, 1957, P.29

of Mount Abu has various versions. Both Tod and Cunningham have given seperate versions of this story. The sources discussing the origin of the Rajputs have been found to be conventional and uniform, being of lesser historical significance due to the discussion of un-historical and supernatural contents; giving way to the present unsatisfactory conclusions.

In due course of time the Rajputs came to be identified with the Kshatriya caste. Although, the term 'caste' was shorn of its significance by the increasing significance of the term 'Kula'. This trend later on developed into the 'clan system' which came to influence the political and social systems of the Rajputs during the later medieval age. In quite similar way, the term 'Kayastha' mentioned in the Gahadwala inscriptions are unclear, as to whether they were official designations or the name of a caste[3]. In a Brahmin - dominated social system, the Rajputs served as the defenders of religion. The Brahmins used to teach the Vedas to the Kshatriyas who learnt it. But the latter were not allowed to teach it[4]. Under the protection provided by the ruling Rajput dynasties, the Hindu society had become intolerant and had come to loose its former strength of cohesive existence. The king's duty it was to see to it that

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3. Roma Niyogi, History of the Gahadwala dynasty, Calcutta, 1959, PP.224-225
4. Sachau, Alberuni's India, Vol.I., London, 1914, PP.125-126

the people of various castes performed their individual duties. The element of the divine in the monarchy also came to be in existence as evidenced from the Chandella kings linking themselves to Vishnu. The sacred laws interpreted by the Brahmins put unclear but effective checks on the autocracy of a king. For instance, it was an established factor that a king was to consult his ministers on important issues[5]. Some of the Rajput states had feudatory elements under them. These subordinate rulers used the designations of Ranaka, Mahanayaka, Maharaja[6]. The other Rajput dynasties like the Chalukyas, too had the feudatory system of administration existing in their states[7]. The feudatory system of administration was a legacy of the ancient times.

We may now look into the relationship of the Rajputs with the Muslims from the earliest of times. It may be noted that the Arab power was consolidated in the Sind region at a time when the Gurjara-Pratiharas were emerging as a power. For the Gurjara-Pratiharas it became politically essential to defend western India from the Arabs. It has been remarked that Nagabhatta II captured the early Muslim strongholds in the Western India[8]. However, it is more likely that the Arabs were checked in their advance, rather than their occupied

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5. D.Sharma, Early Chauhan dynasties, Delhi, 1959, P.194
6. Roma Niyogi, op.cit., PP.161-165
7. A.K. Majumdar, Chalukyas of Gujarat, Bombay, 1956, PP.254-255
8. R.S.Tripathi, History of Kanauj, Delhi, 1959, P.235

territories being captured by the Rajputs. Mihira-Bhoja, who has been described as a powerful general[9] carried on with this policy of defence. By the tenth century the relationship of the Gurjara-Pratiharas and the Arabs had come to acquire a very hostile and a noteworthy aspect of the political condition of northern India. The barrier to the Arab advance erected by the Gurjara-Pratihara power succumbed along with the collapse of the Gurjara-Pratiharas. But the Arabs could not further advance into India because of their own decline. At this juncture, the Yamini dynasty came to power in Ghazni. The lesser Rajput dynasties now had to act to the defence of north-western India. Jaipal, aided by the kings of Delhi, Ajmer, Kalanjar, and Kanauj, defended Sabuktigin[10]. After Sabuktigin's death, Mahmud of Ghazni annihilitated the Muslim opposition of Multan and opened the way of north-western passage to India. He captured Bhatiya (Bhatinda) in 1004 A.D. and Narayanpur(Alwar) in 1009 A.D. Next followed the loot of Thaneswar and Mathura. By this time, he had emerged to be the chief foreign power in the north-west. However, the Gurjara-Pratiharas having fallen in power now, it were the Chandellas who offered stiff resistance to Mahmud who could not penetrate into the central India, in areas of Gwalior and Kalinjar, due to the opposition offered by the Chandellas. It can be maintained that Mahmud's only triumph in India was the permanent occupation of Punjab,

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9. Elliot and Dowson, Vol.I., London,1867, P.4

10. Briggs, trans; Ferishta, Vol.I. Calcutta,1966 P.18

which was largely due to the ineffectiveness of the Gurjara-Pratiharas. In Gujarat, Mahmud's object was to loot the rich Somnath temple. He could be successful here because of the failure of the Chalukyas in blocking his path. When Mahmud, son of Sultan Ibrahim was Punjab's Governor (Punjab was under the influence of Yamini sultans of Ghazni), he established his power over Agra and Kanauj and also invaded the Gangetic valley. He also invaded Malwa. These intrusions laid the Gahadwala kingdom in danger. However, by the first half of the 12th century the power of the Yamini sultans declined. After 1157 Ghazni was lost to them and Lahore emerged as their capital. In 1186 A.D. the Yamini dynasty was brought to an end due to the onslaught of Muizuddin Muhammad Ghori. The Chahamanas also came into conflict with the Yaminis. Mahmud was obstructed by them in Marwar[11]. The Chahamanas under Vijraharaja IV took possession of Delhi from the Tomaras. This increased their responsibility as protectors of the crucial region of Delhi. This made the Chahamanas the virtual guardians of the gates of the Ganges valley. It was at this juncture that the Chahamanas had to bear the brunt of the attack of the Ghoris[12]. Shihabuddin invaded the Chalukya kingdom of Gujarat with plans to capture the fertile plains of India but was defeated. His repeated attack was met with the Chahamana hero, Prithviraj III. In the battle of Tarain, Shihabuddin was defeated. However, in the second battle of

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11. *ibid*, P.69
12. H.C. Ray, *Dynastic history of Northern India*, Vol.II Calcutta, 1936, P.1078

Tarain between the same powers, the Rajputs were defeated which also signalled their kingdom's collapse. After the collapse of the Chahamana and Gahadvala kingdoms, the Muslims attacked the Chalukyas and the Chandellas. Subsequently, Alauddin Khalji conquered Gujarat. After this, the Paramara kingdom also fell. Alauddin Khalji also brought Malwa under his own political domination. All these Muslim conquests meant the annihilation of the different Rajput dynasties and strongholds.

The Rajputs and Mughals

On the eve of the Mughal invasion, Rana Sanga of Mewar can be easily characterised as the leader among the Rajputs. He had come to influence areas such as Rantanpur, Sarangpur, Bhilsay, and Chandiri, which were dependencies of the Mandu Sultans[13]. Besides these, he had come to exercise his influence over Marwar, Amber, Gwalior, Ajmer, Sikri, Raisin, Kalpee, Chandiri, Boondi, Gagrun, Rampura, and Abu. After the victory of Panipat, Babur met Rana Sanga who led the Rajputs at Khanwa in 1527. The defeat in this war decided Rana Sanga's fate. Mention may also be made of the leader of Marwar, Rao Ganga. Though Rana Sanga of Mewar had been the supreme among the Rajputs, nevertheless, Rao Ganga helped him

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13. Beveridge, Trans, Babur-nama, London, 1905, P.483

importantly militarily. Though Babur defeated Rana Sanga, he could not push into Rajasthan. Rao Ganga's influence extended in areas such as Sojat and Dholhare[14]. His son, Maldeo succeeded him and brought eminence to Marwar.

When Humayun succeeded Babur, Mewar faced a crisis in Bahadur Shah 'of Gujarat's siege of the Chittor fort. Rani Karnavati of Chittor solicited Humayun's help but he did not respond due to his religious feelings[15]. Humayun lost the advantage of gaining the Rajput support by ignoring their pleas for help. He did not possess Akbar's political insight and thus could not utilize the Rajputs as instruments of imperial policy as did his son, Akbar. We have the evidence though of Humayun seeking Maldeo's support, compelled by the danger posed by Sher Shah. Humayun went to Jaisalmer, Dilawar, Sitalmir and Pahludi to seek Maldeo's support[16]. But Maldeo was not willing to help Humayun for he recognized Sher Shah as the De Jure and de facto sovereign of Hindustan and thus was unprepared to offend Sher Shah by helping Humayun[17]. Disappointed thus, Humayun left Maldeo's territory and found shelter at Amarkot, later on proceeding on to Persia to seek the Shah's help there to get restored the Indian territories which he had lost to Sher Shah.

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14. V.S.Bhargava, Marwar and the Mughal emperors, Delhi,1966, P.18
15. K.S.Gupta, Mewar and the Maratha relations, Delhi,1971,P.15
16. Beveridge. Trans. Gul-badan Begum; Humayun-nama, London, 1902, P.153
17. V.S. Bhargava, op.cit., P.27

It was from Akbar's time that we find a far-sighted deliberate attempt on the part of the Mughals to enlist the support of the Rajputs for the sake of imperial policy. The beginning of Mughal imperialism in the Rajputana followed with the voluntary submission of the Kachhwa family of Amber in 1562. Baharmall, was the first Rajput prince to pay homage to the Muslims. Bihari Mal also became a Mughal vassal, and offered his eldest daughter for marriage to Akbar who later on became Jahangir's mother. Though Amber was a Marwar dependency till the 16th century it got powerful patronage from the Mughals after Bihari Mal's daughter's marriage to Akbar.

Akbar wanted to subjugate Mewar and so he marched against Chittor in 1567. Ultimately, Chittor fell, but Mewar under the great Maharana Pratap continued to resist the Mughals. He recaptured all the forts except Chittor and Mandalgarh before his death in 1597 and retrieved his position considerably[18].

Marwar; In 1562, Akbar proceeded to Ajmer. He helped Jaimal militarily against Maldeo. Thus, Mirza Sharfud-din Hussain conquered the fort of Merta[19]. Subsequently, the fort

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18. K.S. Gupta, op.cit., P.16

19. Abul Fazl, Akbar-nama. Vol.II., Calcutta, 1912, PP.248-249

of Jodhpur was attacked by the Mughals, which was under Maldeo's son and successor, Rao Chandrasen[20]. Jodhpur passed into Akbar's hands. Chandrasen's clever brother Udai Singh gained royal favour and became a noble at the Mughal court. He appointed among others, Kusu Dass, son of Jaimal of Merta to reduce the fort of Siwana[21]. Sojat was also annexed by the imperial forces. Meanwhile, Rai Singh had become a faithful Mughal noble at the court of Akbar[22]. Chandrasen died in 1581, after being defeated by the Mughal forces in 1580. The three Rajput nobles of the Mughal court, Bhagwan Das, Man Singh and Todarmal had been sent repeatedly by Akbar to Rana Pratap so that the latter could accept the Mughal sovereignty. But Rana Pratap did not accept the Mughal emperor's sovereignty. If Chandrasen would have been in his position (in Rana Pratap's position) there is no doubt that he would have accepted the offer[23].

Rao Chandrasen's successor, Mota Raja Udai Singh heralded a new period of alliance between Marwar and the Mughals. Udai Singh was disinherited by his father, Rao Maldeo. So he had gone to the Mughal court and joined the service of the Mughal emperor in 1570. There, he proved his worth as a warrior and commander of forces in expeditions against the

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20. <u>ibid</u>, P.305
21. <u>ibid</u>, Vo.III., P.113
22. V.S. Bhargava, <u>op.cit.</u>, P.51
23. <u>ibid</u>, P.54

Gujarat of Samavalli and Raja Madhukar Bundela. He had joined these expeditions as an auxiliary commander of the Mughal forces.

Mota Raja Udai Singh's son, Sawai Raja Sur Singh alias Raja Suraj Singh Rathor was also in the favour of the Mughals. He was given the 'Tika' of Jodhpur by Akbar at Lahore in 1595. Akbar himself went to Udai Singh's Haveli to pay condolence visit. The emperor bestowed on Sur Singh nine paraganas of Marwar, four paraganas of Gujarat, one paragana of Malwa, one paragana of Deccan, and one paragana of Mewar, in all sixteen paraganas[24]. At the time of Sur Singh's succession, a suitable mansab was also bestowed upon him. He was awarded a mansab of 2000 Zat and Sawar rank. Thus he got a good start of royal favours. He, upon his own part, tried his best to justify the choice of the Mughal emperor, Akbar, by bringing laurels to the Mughal empire in the many wars he was asked to fight as an auxiliary commander of the Mughal forces. It may be mentioned here, that Akbar had laid the tradition of sending two important commanders - usually one being a Hindu and the other being a Muslim to distant military expeditions. This tradition was later on followed by Akbar's successors.

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24. ibid, PP.62-63

Jahangir, from the very beginning of his reign, was set upon to subjugate Mewar. The Mughal ambition of subjugating Mewar was ultimately realized when Mewar accepted defeat in 1614 when Amar Singh was leading it, and the power had become completely depleted of resources due to prolonged struggles with the Mughals. But according to the Treaty, Mewar actually paid nominal allegiance to the Mughals[25]. The Maharana was exempted from attending the Mughal court, though, the crown prince had to accept the imperial service. Chittor was conditionally restored to the Maharana. Amar Singh was succeeded by his own son, Karan Singh who was on friendly terms with the Mughals.

As regards Marwar, during Jahangir, it was under Raja Gaj Singh's charge who was the son and successor of Raja Sur Singh. Jahangir had sent Tika for Gaj Singh through Darab Khan. At the time of the investiture ceremony, seven paraganas of Jodhpur, namely Jaitaran, Sojat, Siwana, Satalmer, Jodhpur, Terwada and Gorwada[26] together with the mansab of 3000 Zat and 2000 Sawar rank besides the title of 'Raja' were conferred upon Gaj Singh by Jahangir. Gaj Singh used to attend the Mughal court, and received high honours from the imperial throne[27]. He was in charge of several Mughal expeditions into the Rajputana. Subsequently, due to the

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25. K.S.Gupta, op.cit., P.16
26. Jahangir, Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Vol.II., Delhi,1914, P.99
27. V.S. Ghargava, op.cit., PP.70-71

extraordinary efficiency showed by Gaj Singh in the wars against Deccan, Jahangir increased his mansab to 4000 Zat and 3000 Sawar rank, and the Paraganas of Jalor and Sanchor were also given to him in Jagir. In 1622, a kettledrum was also awarded to Gaj Singh by Jahangir[28]. During Prince Khurram's rebellion, Gaj Singh played an important role in meeting his danger, upon the imperial side. He continued to serve as an imperial noble in the Deccan till Jahangir's death in 1627. Shah Jahan, Jahangir's successor, renewed Gaj Singh's mansab. He awarded him a special robe of honour, (<u>Khasa Khilat</u>) a sword, a horse, elephant and a kettledrum. He was asked to lead several imperial expeditions. In lieu of these services, Shah Jahan conferred upon him the title of Maharaja and conferred upon him the paragana of Mahrot in jagir form[29].

Aurangzeb's reimposition of the Jaziva evoked protest from the Rajputs and Maharana Raj Singh of Mewar was not far behind. Raj Singh also opposed Aurangzeb in his plans to bring over the posthumous son of Jaswant Singh of Marwar to the Mughal court as a Muslim. Espousing the infant's cause Raj Singh entered upon a struggle with Aurangzeb which lasted for several years. These factors caused a rift between Mewar and the Mughals, which lasted till Bahadur Shah's reign.

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28. Jahangir, <u>op.cit</u>., Vol.II. PP.232-233
29. Muhammad Sadiq, <u>Shahjahan-nama</u>, Vol.I, PP.514-515

In the meanshile, the Mughal empirê had become weak. The last time the Mughals invaded Mewar was in 1711 during Bahadur Shah's reign, led by Ran Baz Khan and Nahar Khan. Both Mughal generals were killed at the battle of Bandanwara[30]. After this, Mewar had to contend with the rising Maratha power from the south. Aurangzeb's Rajput policy has been closely identified with his religious policy as a devout Muslim. During his early period, he treated the Rajputs with a certain degree of consideration. Their position improved upon that of Shahjahan's time. In Shahjahan's time, there had been no Rajput noble holding the rank of 7,000. But during Aurangzeb's early period, Mirza Raja Jai Singh and Jaswant Singh were promoted to the ranks of 7000/7000[31]. In 1665, Jai Singh had been given the independent charge of the Deccan which was a crucial post from the Mughal point of view. Jaswant Singh was also twice appointed as Governor of Gujarat. This was from 1659 to 1661 and from 1670 to 1672. It was only later on, after Jaswant Singh's death, that the Mughal relations with Marwar entered a bad phase of conflicts, chiefly due to the question of bringing up Jaswant Singh's posthumous son at the Mughal court. Aurangzeb now restricted the rank promotions which would entitle the Rajput chiefs to claim imperial jagirs in addition to their <u>watan jagirs</u>[32].

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30. K.S.Gupta, <u>op.cit</u>., P.17
31. M. Athar Ali, <u>The Mughal nobility under Aurangzeb</u>, Bombay, 1966, P.23
32. <u>ibid</u>, PP.25-26

Ram Singh Hara, Dalpat Rao Bundela and Jai Singh Sawai served in the Deccan with their full contingents. Yet Dalpat Rao Bundela held the rank of only 3000/3000, Ram Singh Hara of only 3000/1500 and Raja Jai Singh of only 2000/2000. Aurangzeb also made it clear that no Rajput was henceforth to be appointed as a Governor or even as a faujdar.

We may now look into Bahadur Shah's relations with Amber. Bahadur Shah ousted Jai Singh from Amber. Amber was conferred on Bijai Singh as a reward for joining the Mughals in 1706. To prevent any contention between the two brothers, Bijai Singh's elder brother, Jai Singh was posted away to Nagarkot, but this order was subsequently withdrawn; simultaneously, Jai Singh was confirmed upon the jagirs of paraganas Amber, Dausa, Chatau and Deoti Sanchari. Again, Amber was put in the possession of the Subahdar and the diwan of Ajmer. And Jai Singh had to vacate the fort of Amber. It has been stated that Bahadur Shah's policy towards Amber was a calculated one[33]. He also conferred the zamindari of Amber on Bijai Singh now. Bahadur Shah's policy of keeping a stronghold over the paraganas of Jodhpur and Amber was reflective of the fact that he wanted to continue Aurangzeb's policy. His intention, it has been said, was to win over the orthodox section, chiefly the Alamgiri nobles, by the pursuance of

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33. Satish Chandra, Parties and politics at the Mughal court, Delhi, 1972, P.291

this policy[34]. After having lost Amber, Jai Singh was without jagirs or watans. He failed in his attempts to secure the jagirs of Chatsu, Muazzabad, Malput, Malarna, etc. His rebellion was thus natural. Amber was restored to Jai Singh. Bijai Singh, who was Bahadur Shah's ally, was conferred upon the paraganas of Tonk and Bhusawar as jagir in 1710. He was finally executed in 1729 in an unsuccessful bid to capture Amber from Jai Singh. The Rana had his objections against the Mughal policy towards the paraganas of Pur, Mandal and Bidnur, which were taken in 1681 by the Mughals as a resultant of the policy of Jizyah. As a form now, these paraganas were restored to him on condition that he would send 1000 sawars to serve the Mughal emperor and would also pay one lakh rupees annually in lieu of Jizyah. The Rana's mansab was thus raised to 6000 while the paraganas were granted to him as jagirs. The paraganas were once again taken by the Mughals because of the arrears which had accumulated out of the Rana's promise of paying the annual sum. Thus, differences between the Rana and the Mughals persisted throughout Bahadur Shah's reign. The Maharana interfered in the Rampura affairs. Rampura had acted as a buffer state between Malwa and Mewar. With the increase in power of Mewar, the Ranas renewed their attempts to regain their control over it. The claims of

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34. ibid, P.292

Gopal Singh over Rampura got support from the three Rajput Rajas at Udaipur. Thus the Maharana attacked Rampura but was unsuccessful. Thus it has been said that every Rajput Raja had his grievances against the Mughals[35].

We, thus, see that from Akbar's time up till the time of Aurangzeb, the Rajputs played more or less a significant role in the overall Mughal administration. Undoubtedly, they were the most dominant Hindu element at the Mughal court during this long period. It was Akbar who first of all recognized the position of the Rajputs as is evidenced in the treaty which he undertook with the rulers of Bundi. We may look into the special position accorded to the Rajputs through the treaty[36].

1st; The chiefs (Rajput) were exempted from the degrading custom of sending a dola to the royal harem.

2nd; They were exempted from the Jaziya or the poll-tax.

3rd; The chiefs were not to be compelled to cross the Attock.

4th; The vassals were to be exempted from the obligation of sending their wives or female relations 'to hold a stall in the Meena Bazaar' at the palace on the festival of Noroza.

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35. ibid, P.294

36. James Tod, Annals and Antiquity of Rajasthan, Vol.III, Delhi, 1971, PP.1480-1482

5th; They were to have the privilege of entering the Dewan-aum, or 'hall of audience' completely armed.

6th; Their sacred edifices were to be respected.

7th; They were never to be placed under the command of a Hindu leader.

8th; Their horses were not to be branded with the imperial dagh.

9th; They were to be allowed to bear their own Nakarras, or 'kettle-drums' in the streets of the capital, as far as the Lal Darwaza or the 'red-gate'; and they were not to be commanded to make the 'prostration' on entering the Presence (of the emperor).

Akbar pursued a planned policy of unifying the country both politically and culturally. The great Rana Pratap's heroic struggle against the Mughals produced adverse effects on the future of his land. He in a way acted as an impediment to Akbar's noble task. If Rana Pratap would have joined the Mughal order he could have saved his land from disaster. Thus, even when during his son's reign Mewar became a Mughal subordinate, the backwardness of Mewar could not be healed up[37]. Ram Pratap's policy of resisting superior Mughal forces

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37. G.N.Sharma, Mewar and the Mughal emperors, Agra,1951, P.121

was unrealistic. While Marwar and Amber became leading states of Rajasthan under the Mughal patronage, the people of Mewar suffered undue suffering and never could Mewar again recover the same place in Rajputana which it held before the coming of the Mughals. Even though, Rana Pratap Singh was the embodiment of the traditional virtues and defects of the typical Rajput, and his success and failure should be judged from this point of view. Local patriotism and not national horizon, has been the essence of medieval Rajput history, and the Mewar rulers can be stated to be its best exponents.

We may also look into the position of the subordinate Rajput principalities within the Mughal imperial structure, and the nature of the Mughal sovereignty. From the point of view of revenue administration, the tributary Rajput states were included within the Subah of Ajmer. Of the seven Sarkars of that Subah only two (Ajmer and Nagor) were administered directly by imperial officers; the rest consisted of Rajput principalities. Each of them contributed to the imperial treasury a fixed round sum as tribute. The ruling princes of Rajasthan had full internal powers and dealt directly with the central government. In theory, the emperor had absolute control over matters of succession. Before succession, the selected candidate had to pay his homage and offerings before his formal installation on his ancestral gadi. Every Rajput state was treated, for official purposes, as a jagir which

the emperor conferred upon his nominee. The chief obligations of the Rajput princes were the regular payment of the tribute and the regular provision of contingents for the imperial army. The chief external restriction on their authority was the obligation to use the Mughal coins within their territories. Till the 18th century, no Rajput prince was allowed to mint coins in his own name. Though the Rajput princes were under the subordination of the Mughals, but it is a fact that they grew stronger within their own territories, under the Mughal sovereignty, vis-a-vis the feudal nobility. The autocracy of the Mughal emperor exercised an indirect influence on the political set-up of the Rajputs. It has been suggested that the imperial autocracy gave incentive to the Rajput princes to act as autocrats in their own limited spheres. Thus they changed from clan leaders to the irresponsible autocrat. To be more precise, it can be stated that the position of these Rajput princes who were loyal to the Mughal empire had become so secure due to the imperial patronage, that they could easily defy their own noble elements and could set aside the traditional restraints over their authority. Because they could depend on imperial assistance, they could easily suppress internal rebellions by easily assuming autocratic powers. We may illustrate an example from Tod who states that "During these troubles (i.e. troubles which ensued on Aurangzeb's death), Jai Singh's power as the King's lieutenant in Agra,

which embraced his hereditary domains, gave him ample opportunity to enlarge and consolidate his territory"[38]. In this way, we may try to have an insight into the actual character of those Rajput principalities which were protected by the Mughal emperors. We may maintain that such Rajput principalities were transformed into autocratically governed states. However, we have to keep notice of the fact that the condition of Mewar was quite different. In Mewar the crown became gradually weaker and the nobility vis-a-vis became stronger. We may also see how was the position of the rulers of Mewar affected. Mewar lost her pre-dominant position among the Rajput states, during the Mughal rule, whereas Amber and Jodhpur rose to occupy predominant position among the Rajput states during the Mughal rule. This was the result of significant services rendered to the Mughal empire by the nobles of Amber and Jodhpur for nearly two centuries. Whereas Mirza Raja Jai Singh of Amber and Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur became strong pillars of the Mughal empire, Mewar kept itself aloof and thus naturally could not occupy the advantageous position acquired by the houses of Amber and Jodhpur. Mewar, even after the Treaty with Jahangir, continued to elude the Mughal pre-dominance. The Maharana of Udaipur could not attain an important place for himself among the Hindu nobility at the Mughal court. He never attended the Mughal court and kept

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38. James Tod, op.cit. P.1351

himself confined to the mountain fortresses of Rajasthan[39]. As such, during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and the eighteenth centuries, the houses of Amber and Jodhpur rose to play leading roles at the Imperial court at the expense of the house of Mewar. Other reasons were also there for the increasing weakness of the house of Mewar. Previous to the Mughals, there was the custom to change the estates or fiefs of the nobles after every few years, so as to nullify their local influence. These nobles attended the court of the Rajput ruler and tried to satisfy them that they owed their allegiance to them alone, and to nobody else. But during the prolonged struggle of the Rajputs with the Mughals, this system underwent specific changes, which were to the benefit of the Rajput nobles. The Rajput rulers were many times driven away from the plains to the hills. During such periods, when confusion prevailed, the Rajput rulers could not transfer the nobles from one holding to another, as most of the holdings had come to be actually under the control of the Mughal government and the Mughal garrisons controlled them. Thus, when permanent peace was chalked out in 1615 between the Rajputs and the Mughals, most of the nobles found themselves in possession of fixed estates, from which the Rajput rulers could no more transfer or dislodge them. Furthermore, the loyalty and self-sacrifice shown by many Rajput nobles to the Rajput

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39. J.N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Calcutta, 1912-30, Vol.III, P.324

rulers in their struggle against the Mughal empire, impelled the Rajput rulers to increase their possessions. Thus, it can be maintained that during the seventeenth century, the position of the Rajput nobles within Rajputana especially in Mewar too, grew stronger than what it was before. But it may not be misunderstood that the rulers of Mewar were mere puppets in the hands of the nobility. In fact, the personal ability of the ruler was a check on them, besides the factor that the nobles of Mewar were often quite poor. Also, Mewar had some special privileges which the other Rajput states of Rajputana did not have. The treaty which the Mughals entered upon with Maharana Pratap Singh, exempted him from the humiliating practice of matrimonial alliances with the imperial family. This was a proud privilege gained by the Rajputs of Mewar from the social point of view. It enhanced the social prestige of the Mewar princes though it did not contribute to their political significance. The second privilege was that the Rana was exempted from the usual personal attendance at the imperial court, and he was to be represented by his eldest son at the Mughal court. This privilege was not granted to any tributary Rajput prince before 1615. But these privileges granted to Mewar also had another side of the picture. Due to these, the rulers of Mewar went into political oblivion on basis of their proud isolation from the triumphs of the sovereign Mughal power.

While, the other Rajput states played an important role in the imperial history and augmented their prestige and territory during the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, such as Rathors under Jaswant Singh and Ajit Singh and the Kachwahas under the two Jai Singhs. However, Mewar once again rose to prominence for a short while under Raj Singh who was hostile to the Mughal empire due to the illiberal policy of Aurangzeb. Resentment was already there between Mewar and the Mughals due to the treaty of 1615, though the resentment had remained to be silent but a constant factor in the policy of Mewar. Thus Rana Karan Singh had provided political refuge for Jahangir's rebel son, Khurram, and Rana Jagat Singh had interferred in the affairs of small principalities like Sirohi, Pratapgarh, Banswara etc. against Shahjahan's wishes. And Raj Singh took up arms against Aurangzeb in 1679, in connection with the Mughal seizure of Marwar after Jaswant Singh's death. It is wrong to say that Raj Singh took up the arms as a champion of Hinduism, because of the imperial orders for temple destruction[40] and the reimposition of the Jaziya. After his death, Raj Singh's weak son and successor, Jai Singh concluded peace with the Mughals; on humiliating terms and ceding three paraganas of Mandal, Pur, and Badnor in lieu of the Jaziya. Henceforth, Mewar remained on peaceful terms with the Mughals, as neither

40. G.N. Sharma, op.cit. PP.162-163

Jai Singh nor his successor, Amar Singh defied the Mughal authority. After Aurangzeb's death the advantage of a weak Mughal empire was exploited by Rajputs such as Ajit Singh and Sawai Jai Singh of Marwar and Amber. These Rajputs took to self-aggrandizement and Mewar failed to utilize the situation to restore their own pre-eminence.

Tod mentions thus in this regard,

> "......... while Amber appropriated to herself the royal domains almost to the Jumna; while Marwar planted her banner on the battlements of Ajmer, dismembered Gujarat, and pushed her clans far into the desert, even to the world's end; Mewar confined her ambition to the control of her ancient feudatories of Abu, Idar and the petty states which grew out of her, Durgarpur and Banswara"[41].

Again he writes,

> "Rajasthan benefitted by the demolition of the empire; to all but Mewar it yielded an extension of power"[42].

41. James Tod, op.cit., Vol.I, PP.476-477
42. ibid, P.473

Another writer says that,

> "The Maharana, who had ever since the coming of the Mughals filled the highest place in the public eye among the Hindu chiefs of India, now fall back into complete isolation and obscurity. His unrivalled social status and the mythical glamour of his blood still remained; but in the political field, from the beginning of the 18th century onwards, the primacy among the Rajputs was contested between the Kachhwah and the Rathor"[43].

The prolonged struggle of the Rathors and Aurangzeb, ended with the latter's death. The period 1679-1708 was a period of ceaseless conflict for Marwar, and this breach with the Rajputs was a source of weakness for the Mughal empire. By neglecting the Rajputs, Aurangzeb endangered the keystone of his power[44]. Amber, under Bhagwan Das, Man Singh, Mirza Raja Jai Singh and Sawai Singh, as has been already mentioned, rose to gain powerful patronage from the Mughals, and remained so up till Aurangzeb's time and even during the time of the later Mughals.

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43. J.N.Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal empire, Calcutta, 1949, Vol.I, P.130

44. James Tod, op.cit., Vol.I., P.462

The prolonged period of Mughal suzerainty brought the Rajputs in contact with the far flung regions of Central Asia and Assam, Maharashtra, etc. The Rajputs became familiar with the vast and complex military and administrative organization of the Mughals. They gradually learnt to submerge local patriotism by giving recognition to political unification. Though, the narrow-minded Rajputs, as a result of the Mughal influence became more and more used to isolation. As a result of this two-fold ideals and practices, no superior power was left to enforce lawful rights and to prevent ambitious conflicts between the different vassal states in the Rajputana. The personal ambitions and inter-state rivalries thus took up a new turn of unrestrained and unchecked momentum which turned the Rajputana into "a zoological garden with the barriers of the cages thrown down and the keepers removed"[45]. Thus, in the 18th century, Rajputana succumbed to a degeneration unknown to it previously.

From the political point of view, the Mughal empire achieved a difficult task in the Rajputana. It brought the Rajput states under its control for a long time. The empire prevented the outbreak of mutual hostilities among the various Rajput states, while it also prevented the big powerful Rajput states from encroaching upon the liberties

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45. J.N. Sarkar, op.cit. Vol.I. P.131

of the smaller ones. By controlling the succession of the Rajput states the empire also prevented the outbreak of wars of succession or the civil wars. When the Mughal suzerainty was nullified in the Rajputana, civil wars began to occur therein. For example, the civil war in Jaipur occurred after Sawai Jai Singh's death in 1743. In Marwar it occurred in 1749 after Abhay Singh's death. Likewise, the Rathor-Kachhwah disputes resulted in the battle of Gangwana in 1741.

Though the Mughal political system checked the freedom of the Rajputana with offending ceremonials, but it also, at the same time, provided opportunities to them for unlimited political and military triumphs and exploits outside the narrow confines of their ancestral territories. The notable carreers of Man Singh, Jaswant Singh, and the two Jai Singhs reflect this feature. Initiated by the wise policy of Akbar, the Mughals down to Shahjahan utilised the Rajput princes for important imperial purposes, without encroaching unnecessarily upon their political authority over their own subjects. However, the policy of direct annexation of Aurangzeb applied towards Marwar was a blunder, as it nullified and altered the basis of the Rajput-Mughal relations on which the Mughal empire's security and prestige rested to a great extent. The Marathas, who succeeded the

Mughals in having suzerainty over Rajputana, went even ahead by extracting Monetary concessions out of the barren desert of Rajputana without paying any sort of compensation to the Rajputs.

The effects of the long Rajput-Mughal contacts were not only limited to political spheres. The Rajputs often underwent social changes which were not traditional to them. For example, Mirza Raja Jai Singh was well versed in Turki, Persian, besides Urdu. His foresight, political cunning, and cool calculating policies were in contrast to the customary Rajput impulsive generosity, reckless daring, and impolitic chivalry. He was ready to lay a fatal snare for Shivaji after Shivaji's flight from Agra, and thus to prove his loyalty to the Mughals[46]. The political morals of these times were moulded by an atmosphere of treachery and intrigues and the Rajput princes too could not escape from these vices. In the spheres of art and literature too the Rajputs could not be left behind from Mughal influence.

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46. J.N.Sarkar, Shivaji, Calcutta, 1942, P.154

We may now provide a list of the Rajput nobles during the latter part of the Mughal rule in India[47];

Name	Rank
Umdat-ul-Mulk, Mirza Raja Jai Singh Kachwaha	7000/7000
Maharaja Jaswant Singh Rathor	7000/7000
Rana Raj Singh	6000/6000
Raja Ram Singh Kachwaha	5000/5000
Raja Rai Singh Sisodia	5000/5000
Champat Bundela	5000/
Rai Singh Rathor	4000/4000
Inder Man Dhandera	4000/3000
Rao Bhao Singh Hara	4000/2500
Raja Raj Rup of Nurpur	3500/3500
Raja Anrudh Gaur	3500/3000
Raja Sujan Singh Bundela	3500/3000
Rao Karan Bharatiya	3500/2000
Girdhar Das Gaur	3000/2000
Bairam Deo Sisodia	3000/1000
Raja Debi Singh Bundela	2500/2500
Anup Singh	2500/2000
Subh Karan Bundela	2500/2000
Bhagwant Singh	2500/1500
Rao Amar Singh Chandrawat	2500/1500
Sabal Singh Sisodia	2500/1000
Raja Bikram Singh	2500/
Raja Nar Singh Gaur	2000/2000
Jagat Singh Hara	2000/1500
Pooran Mal Bundela	2000/1500
Medni Singh	2000/1000
Pahar Singh Gaur	1500/1000
Gopal Singh	1500/1500

47. M.Athar Ali, op.cit. PP.175-270

Name	Rank
Kesri Singh Bhartiya	1500/1400
Jagat Singh	1500/1400
Bhoj Raj Kachwaha	1500/1200
Mitr Sen Bundela	1500/1200
Raja Man Singh of Guler	1500/1000
Harjis Gaur	1500/1000
Chatar Bhuj Chauhan	1500/1000
Raja Amar Singh Narori	1500/1000
Raja Kishan Singh Taunur	1500/1000
Udai Bhan Rathor	1500/1000
Man Singh, S/o. Rup Singh Rathor	1500/700
Jay Ram Kachwaha	1500/1000
Raghu Nath Singh Bhartiya	1500/900
Raghu Nath Singh Meerath	1500/800
Mahesh Das Rathor	1500/600
Raghu Nath Singh Rathor	1500/600
Karan Kachi	1500/500
Raja Prithi Chand	1500/500
Sher Singh Rathor	1000/1000
Mahrawal Jaswant Singh of Durgapur	1000/1000
Inder Singh	1000/1000
Raja Maha Singh Bahdoriya	1000/1000
Ram Singh	1000/1000
Man Dhata	1000/1000
Raja Jai Singh	1000/1000
Raja Bahruj	1000/1000
Suraj Mal Gaur	1000/800
Inderman Bundela	1000/700
Tama Ji	1000/700
Bhinu Singh	1000/600
Saun Singh	1000/500
Kalyan Singh	1000/500
Prem Singh	1000/500

Name	Rank
Manohar Das Sisodia	1000/400
Raja Sher Singh	1000/400
Banwali Das Bhartiya	1000/400
Bhagwant	1000/-
Raja Chator Singh	1000/-
Rao Muhkam Singh	High Rank
Raja Jaswant Singh Bundela	1000/-
Ranu Amar Singh II	5000/5000
Raja Bhim Singh	5000/2000
Raja Chhatar Sal Bundela	4000/-
Anrudh Hara of Bundi	3500/3000
Indar Singh	3500/2000
Raja Udat Singh Bundela	3500/1600
Udai Singh Bundela	3500/1500
Raja Bharat Singh	3500/-
Dalpat Rao Bundela	3000/3000
Indar Singh, S/o. Rana Raj Singh	3000/2000
Raja Udat Singh Bhaduriya	3000/2000
Man Singh, S/o. Rup Singh Rathor	3000/1800
Rao Ram Singh Hara	3000/1500
Raja Bishan Singh	3000/400
Kishor Singh Hara of Kota	2500/3000
Subh Karan Bundela	2500/2200
Raja Ram Singh Sisodia	2500/2000
Rao Budh Singh of Bundi	2500/1000
Kishan Singh	2500/-
Rao Ram Chand	2000/2000
Jai Singh Sawai	2000/2000
Ram Singh, S/o. Ratan Rathor	2000/1400
Jagat Singh Hara	2000/1000
Sujan Singh, S/o. Anup Singh	2000/1000
Raja Durag Singh	1500/1500

Name	Rank
Manohar Das Qaladar of Sholapur	1500/1500
Raja Jaswant Singh Bundela	1500/1000
Nur Singh	1500/1400
Bijai Singh	1500/1200
Muhkam Singh	1500/1000
Behari Chand, S/o. Dalpat Bundela	1500/1000
Shiv Singh, S/o. Nur Singh	1500/1000
Hirday Singh Bundela	1500/1000
Param Deo	1500/900
Satar Sal Rathor	1500/850
Sarup Singh	1500/500
Padam Singh Bundela	1500/500
Jaswant Singh Rawal of Durgapur	1000/900
Khuman Singh or Guman Singh	1000/900
Raja Sarup Singh, S/o. Anup Singh	1000/750
Kapur Singh Hara	1000/1000
Gopal Singh	1000/900
Sultan Singh	1000/700
Raja Udai Singh	1000/600
Raja Kalyan Singh	1000/600
Raja Bhagwant Singh	1000/500
Raja Suraj Mal	1000/500
Bahadur Singh	1000/500
Dil Singh	1000/400
Raja Udai Singh of Chamba	1000/600
Bhao Singh	1000/500
Parshutam Singh	1000/-
Padam Singh	1000/-
Kishore Das	High Rank
Ajit Singh Rathor	High Rank

CHAPTER - IV

THE HINDU ELEMENT OF THE MUGHAL NOBILITY - THE MARATHAS

Before explaining the Maratha nobility we will explain the term 'Deccanis'. The Mughals denoted all nobles belonging to the Deccan kingdoms as Deccanis[1]., either of foreign or Indian extraction like the Bijapuris and Hyderabadis, the Marathas were also treated as Deccanis by the Mughals.

The Bahmani kingdom was founded as an independent power in the southern India during the middle of the fourteenth century. It continued to exist from 1347 to 1526 and contributed to the development of Muslim civilization in the Deccan. But the Muslim population in the south was a stark minority in face of the multitude of Hindu population. Thus isolation could not be maintained for long between the conquerors and the conquered, the Muslims and the Hindus[2]. So the Hindus rose to high offices in war, diplomacy and government, in the Bahmani empire[3]. With the murder of Mahmud Gawan in 1481, the effective existence of the Bahmani kingdom came to an end and the following dominions were carved out : (1)Imadshahi of Berar in 1484, (2) Adilshahi of Bijapur in 1489, (3)Nizamshahi of Ahmadnagar in 1490,

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1. M.Athar Ali, The Mughal nobility under Aurangzeb, Bombay, 1966, P.26
2. J.N.Sarkar, House of Shivaji, Calcutta, 1948, P.2

(4) Qutbshahi of Golcunda in 1518, (5)Baridshahi of Bidar in 1526[4]. The Marathas came to play a significant role in these kingdoms, permeating their administration. This was because the foreign mercenaries such as Turks, Persians, Abyssinians and the Mughals, employed by the Deccani Sultans, proved troublesome and gradually dependence was put on the native Bargis and Siledar troops. The Marathas thus received training in arms, wealth, and power. So we see the Ghadges, Ghorpades, Dafles, Manes, as generals of ten or twenty thousand horses and enjoying proportionate jagirs during the sixteenth century[5]. The considerable employment of the Hindus (Marathas) in civil and military services of the Sultans was not due to the latter's religious toleration, but due to other significant factors. These were; Marathas could never be fully subjugated as western Maharashtra and Konkan could never be completely subjugated by the Mughals till the middle of the fifteenth century. The Ghatmatha of Mavals were never subdued as the Des was done. Moreover, the Deccani Muslim conquerors were isolated and weak due to not being in a position to receive constant replenishment like their counterparts in northern India. Furthermore, they caused their own weakening by perpetual quarrels with the foreign parties, e.g. the murder of Mahmud Gawan, which provided the enterprising Marathas to push themselves

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4. S.R.Sharma, <u>Maratha history re-examined., 1295-1707</u>, Bombay, 1944, P.27

5. <u>ibid</u>, P.28

forward against the small numbered presence of the disunited Muslim elements in the Deccan[6]. Under the Khaljis and the Tughlaqs, there were frequent summonings of Muslim officers from the Deccan towards the exigencies in the northern India. For instance, Malik Kafur recalled Ain-ul-mulk with all the Muslim inhabitants of Daulatabad. Such recalls caused rebellions on the part of the Muslim officers. With the establishment of the Bahmani kingdom the connection with the north was cut off. Moreover, conversions were not large, so the rulers invited the foreign immigrants to augment their forces and folds. But the local Muslims did not like the newcomers. This led to civil strife. The central aristocracy at Delhi and its representatives in the south comprised chiefly of central Asians of Turkish and Afghan heritage, while the newcomers in the south came from the coasts around the Persian Gulf, they being Syeds from Najaf, Karbala, and Persians from Sistan, Khurasan, etc. As such, the conflict between the southerners with their Habshi (Abyssinians) subordinates who had settled earlier in the Deccan and the newcomers from Iraq and Iran, precipitated the downfall of the Bahmani kingdom[7]. In such circumstances, the influence of

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6. ibid, P.29
7. ibid, P.31

the Marathas naturally increased. The Maratha chieftains swore unflinching loyal support to the Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golcunda kingdoms.

Lukhji Jadhavrao of Sindkhed, who was Shivaji's grand-father from his mother's side, was the chief Maratha noble at the court of Nizamshah of Ahmadnagar. He was in the command of ten thousand horses. He always acted like a duty bound feudatory. The Bhonsles of Verul, who were also Shivaji's own ancestors, were in the service of the Sultan of Ahmadnagar. Shivaji's grandfather Maloji and his brother, Vithoji were able men who rose from humble beginnings to powerful positions. Maloji began his career under Jadhavrao and finally got married his son Sahji (Shivaji's father) to Jadhavrao's daughter Jijabai[8]. Bijapur patronised several Maratha families such as the prominent Mores. The Mores of Javli, near Mahabaleshwar, increased their power by their strong loyalty to their Muslim overlords and also due to their persistent campaigns against their own kinsmen. The Nimbalkars of Phaltan, originally known as the Pawars, had emerged to be the pillars of the Bijapur sultunate. Japalrao Naik was a prominent Nimbalkar noble who had the same dash and vigour as that of Maloji Bhonsle. Phaltan survived as a feudatory of the British government for a long time. Prominent among the Maratha nobles serving

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8. V.B.Kulkarni, <u>Shivaji - The Portrait of a Patriot</u>, Delhi, 1963, P.27

under the Deccan Muslims, were also the Ghorpades. Originally known as the Bhosles, they had come to acquire the title Ghorpade under the patronage of the Bahmani rule. It so happened that a Bhosle had scaled an impregnably regarded fort in Konkan with only the aid of a ghorpad. Santaji Ghorpade's name is known for having defeated Aurangzeb's armies after the death of Shivaji. But a few Ghorpades of Mudhol indulged in treachery and intrigue against their own kinsmen. In wars against Vijainagar, Bijapur employed the services of armed Mudhols. In 1520, Maloji, the ruler of Mudhol even died in his attempt to gain victory for the Bijapur Sultan. His son, Karan Singh played an active role in the coalition of the Muslim powers of the Deccan, which ultimately caused the disintegration of the Vijaynagar empire by 1565. And the fissiperous activities of Baji Ghorpade during Shivaji's time, are a reflection of the limit of the degraded condition of moral and justice of the Ghorpades. The achievements of the career of the Maratha nobles during this time, i.e. before Shivaji, was based on self-interest, treachery and submission to the Muslim authority[9]. They lacked in having broad and noble ambitions and ideals. They used to fight among themselves which proved to be advantageous for the Muslims. The hope of restoring back the country's unity and respect was not there. Neither national sentiment nor unity of religion and language could

9. ibid, P.29

prevent their infights. The Maratha nobles of Bijapur, Ahmadnagar and Golcunda kept themselves opposed to each other and rivalries followed regarding matters of individual dispute or hereditary feuds. On the other hand, the Kings of the Bahmani dynasty followed the policy of divide and rule. This they applied to the Marathas and thus kept their subjects in a helpless and weak state. They utilized the Maratha disunity and discord in the later centuries. They were successful in getting the adherence of the powerful though misguided Maratha nobles, and so played with their life and honour in their own manner. This disunity is very well reflected in the uncompromising hostility as existed between the Jadhavs of Sindhkhed and Shivaji's father and grandfather, even though both families were allied together through matrimonial alliances. Taking advantage of the Maratha disunity and thus fearing no opposition from them, Nizam-Shah went so far as to cause the death of the powerful Maratha leader, Lukhji Jadhavrao in 1629. In quite the same manner, Shivaji's father's imprisonment and humiliation was carried on by the Bijapur Sultan though the State's stability depended significantly on Shahji. Thus we see that the unfailing loyalty of the Marathas was ill-requited by their Muslim sovereigns[10]. Still, some rulers such as Ibrahim Adil Shah provided a really dominant position to

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10. ibid, P.30

the Hindus in the court due to harbouring a catholic and broad altitude. He was regarded as a 'Jagadguru' by the Hindus. He easily won the gratitude of the Hindus, because the Hindus had become so much debased that they took to any simple concession as an act of high generosity. On the contrary, there was Mahmud Adil Shah, who during Shivaji's rise to power, behaved intolerantly and oppressed the Hindus as he had adopted a state policy of discrimination against them and thus did not allow them to attain high offices in his government. The Hindus could not claim an equal position with the Muslims. It was ironical that no prominent Maratha family, such as the Bhosles, Nimbalkars, Mores, Ghorpades, etc, who were serving under the Sultan, raised voices of protest against this affront to their honour and religion[11]. They were fit only to fight as game cocks amongselves, and to perish for their masters.

The personality of the Maratha nobles, was not very impressive. They often used to look unsophisticated and undignified, unlike the Rajput nobles. Though they were quite good-natured, they were also hot-headed. They lacked aptitude for business, but loved sports. One thing was remarkable in them that they were proud of their low origins, even after having attained power, wealth and distinction[12].

11. ibid, P.31
12. Sir Richard Temple, The Mahratta Nationality, Delhi, 1921, P.5

We may now try to conclude upon the aspect of the social relations as prevailing in Medieval Deccan, due to the presence of the two diversified communities of the Muslims and the Hindus therein. The rulers belonged to one community, i.e. Muslim and so they resorted to the adoption of variant policies of tolerance and intolerance as inspired and compelled by the exigencies of the times to suit their political demands and gains. It may be pointed out that the Indian society of contemporary Deccan was conceived as a synthesis of the two dominant communities - Muslims and Hindus. For instance, a sixteenth century inscription from Kunkalli mentions that if a Maratha(Hindu) breaks the installation of a phallus, he would be regarded as a sinner, and if a Muslim breaks it, he will be also regarded as having broken his pledge with the God. A Maratha would be credited with having to visit Varanasi and a Muslim to Mecca upon restoring it[13]. In an Adil Shahi Shahi Farman, the oath of Khuda Rasul and the Holy Quran has been prescribed. Several instructions have been provided that the Council's decisions should be respected by both the Muslims and the Hindus[14]. It is concluded on these oaths that the Hindus and the Muslims were accepted by the people as integral constituents of the social fabric. Harmony between these

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13. A.R. Kulkarni, "Social relation in the Maratha country in the Medieval period", I.H.C, 1970, P.237

14. ibid, P.237

two constituents was a necessary factor for the co-existence of the society and the successful execution of the state policies. In Maharashtra, the Muslim activity of idol-breaking, temple-destruction, and mosque-construction was not so vigorous as it was in the northern India. It is to the credit of the Deccan Muslims that they were more concerned with activities such as colonization and extension of land cultivation, rather than to scare the people away from the lands.

The Muslim civilization developed in southern India, though on different lines from the process in the northern India, with regard to race, creed, and language. In the north, throughout the dominant ethnic element in Muslim age were the Turks in administration and war alike, with the assistance of the Persians in civil business. In the Deccan, the Muslim community formed of Turks, Persians, Abysinians, Mughals and indigenous Muslims, remained to be a glaring minority among the multitude of the Hindu population. That is why the Deccan Sultans depended so much on the Marathas for administrative purposes. It may be maintained that the Hindu influence had come to affect the Deccan Sultanates even before Akbar formulated and practised his religions and communities[15]. In northern India, this process of cultural synthesis came late and could get

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15. J.N.Sarkar, House of Shivaji, Calcutta, 1948, P.3

sufficient roots and fruits only by the time of Shahjahan. We can illustrate this point by pointing out that the Hindu dialect came to permeate the speech of the Deccani royalty. This mixed product was called Rekhta or Deccani Urdu. It virtually became the language of the kings and nobles, ministers and poets in the Muslim states of the Deccan during the sixteenth century.

From having studied the situation in the Deccan and the relationship of the Maratha nobles with the Deccani states, we now move towards the north so as to study the situation of the Maratha nobility at the Mughal court.

From the seventeenth century, along with the expansion of the Mughal empire towards the Deccan, we notice the inclusion of Marathas into the royal Mughal services. The situation was a particularly delicate one. The Marathas were to be provided positions according to their own preferences and satisfaction, while at the same time the internal cohesion and balance of the Mughal nobility was not to be disturbed. Neither were the imperial resources to be strained much. As it happened, this process ultimately developed into a movement aimed at regional independence in Maharashtra[16].

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16. Satish Chandra, Parties and politics at the Mughal Court, 1707-1740, "Introduction", Delhi, 1972, P.XXXIV

It was Malik Ambar who had first of all utilized the services of the Maratha chiefs and their followers (the bargis) on a sufficiently large scale[17]. Subsequently, the Mughals began to realize the significance of the Maratha elements in the wars in the Deccan. Thus the Maratha turncoats played a significant role in the crucial defeat of Malik Ambar in 1616 at the hands of Shahnawaz Khan. Malik Amber, by employing the Marathas, had indirectly rendered them beneficial services by providing them thus military and political training. The prominent Marathas who had rendered their services to him were Shahji Bhosle, Vithalraj, his son Khenoji Bhosle, Mudhoji Nimbalkar of Phaltan, Hambir Rao Chandan, and Nogoji Rao Ghatge. On the opposite side in the Mughal camp were Lukhoji Jadhav Rao, Uda Ram, Vishwanath and in the Bijapuri camp were Dhundiraj Brahman, Ghate, and several others[18]. The light Maratha horse-system provided valuable auxiliaries to the Deccan forces and Malik Ambar realized their value against the Mughals. Thus the chief significance of the Mughal campaigns in the Deccan was that it provided opportunities for military training and experience and political power to the Marathas. Malik Ambar was like Shivaji, a master of guerilla tactics

17. Athar Ali, op.cit. P.29
18. S.R.Sharma, The Founding of the Maratha Freedom, Bombay, 1964, P.83

of warfare. His chief object was to serve his own master, but unconsciously he was thus nourishing a potential power in the form of the Marathas in the Deccan[19].

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the prominent Marathas from the political and social points of view were known as the Watandars and the Sardars[20]. The bigger Watandars held their positions in the capacity of deshmukhs or desais, deshpandes or deshkulkarnis, muqaddams etc. The Sardars possessed military following. They were mostly enlisted as loose auxiliaries or bargis in the Bahmani kingdoms. They used to plunder the enemy territories. They received as salaries land revenue assignments generally known as '*muqasa*' (in Marathi: *mokasa*). The principal source of income for livelihood for these elements thus depended upon their power to share the land revenue which they collected due to hereditary titles which they received on behalf of the State. Along with the disintegration of the Bahmani kingdom and with the increasing pressure from the side of the Mughals upon the state of the Deccan, the deshmukhs and desais etc, were now to be enfolded within the political and military administrative capacities of the Deccani states. Malik Ambar, Burhan Nizam Shah(1508-53) and Ibrahim Adil Shah (1534-57) were followers of this

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19. *ibid*, P.83
20. Satish Chandra, "Shivaji and the Maratha Landed elements" in Indian Society: Historical Probings. In memory of D.D. Kosambi. Ed.R.S.Sharma, New Delhi, 1974, P.249

policy[21]. But it was undoubtedly Malik Ambar who had an abiding interest in the affairs of the Maratha watandars. Many Maratha families rose to high positions of power under the patronage of Malik Ambar. One was the family of Shahji Bhosle, who had received a grant in 1662 of the Mokasa of the parganas of Sholapur and Poona from Malik Ambar.

Jahangir, the Mughal emperor, died in 1627. His death was followed by a turbulent period during which the enemies of the empire began to create opportunities for themselves. The imperial family itself was ridden with many dissensions. Nur Jahan forwarded the cause of her son-in-law, Shahryar as the emperor and her brother Asaf Khan that of Khurram (Shahjahan) who was his son-in-law, as the emperor. Khusrah's son Dawar Baksh was used as a scape-goat to pave the way for Shahjahan who ascended the throne through the mass of bloodshed. As the new reign began, so occurred the revolt of Khan Jahan Lodi who subsequently took refuge by going over to the Deccan. Simultaneously, a new phase began in the process of the recruitment of Maratha nobles in the Mughal service, as soon as Shahjahan became the emperor. This process was the outcome of the real objective of eliminating the Ahmadnagar kingdom in the Deccan, for which Shahjahan personally proceeded on towards the Deccan[22].

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21. ibid, P.250
22. Athar Ali, op.cit. P.29

In these circumstances prevailing at the Mughal court, Shahji returned to the Nizamshahi kingdom. Due to the haughty behaviour of Malik Ambar towards him, who had derecognized his valuable services below the mark, Shahji had temporarily alienated himself by joining the Bijapur ranks during 1624-26. Meanwhile the rebel Khan Jahan Lodi asked for support from Murtaza Nizamshah (1629-30), as he was pursued by the Mughal forces. As a result, a temporary alliance came to be patched up between Bijapur and Ahmadnagar in support of Khan Jahan Lodi who had promised to restore the Deccani territories having been captured by the Mughals. Bijapur was well-fortified and the allies so unified that the Mughal forces led by Asaf Khan had to return while accepting the terms put up by the Deccanis[23]. But the situation changed due to the treachery of Hamid Khan. The coming to power of Mustafa Khan and his pro-Mughal party in Bijapur during 1627-48 was also not calculated to help in the pursuance of the united front against the Mughals. Shahjahan was displeased over his father-in-law, Asaf Khan's failure at Bijapur. Meanwhile, the shocking killing of Lukhji Jashav Rao and his family in July 1629 by Hamid Khan in the Nizamshahi generated an atmosphere of intrigue and suspicion. Even the recently restored Shahji Bhosle was alienated from Murtaza. He and some other under

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23. S.R. Sharma, <u>Maratha history re-examined. 1295-1707</u>, Bombay, 1944, P.61

the Nizamshahi services now planned to enter the Mughal service. According to Abdul Hamid Lahori, Shajuji Bhosle the son-in-law of Jadu Rai the Hindu commander of Nizamshah's army, entered the Mughal camp of Azam Khan. He received a Khil'at, a mansab of 5000, and a gift of two lacs of rupees. His brother Minaji received a mansab of 3000 personel and 1500 horses. Samaji, son of Shuhuji, also received a mansab of 2000 personal and 1000 horses[24]. Thus, Shahji Bhosle was successful in carving out a semi-independent principality for himself, at Poona and Bangalore, already in the time of Shahjahan[25]. This was a time when the increasing importance of the Marathas also had its impact on the Mughal policy. The Mughals had to meet this new challenge from towards the Marathas. They resorted to strategy thus. Apart from military operations they started encouraging the Maratha nobles towards the folds of the Mughal nobility[26], thus satisfying the cupidity of the Maratha noble elements.

We now come to study the life and times and the circumstances prevailing during Shivaji, the Great. Shivaji had come to attain prominence during the reign of Shahjahan himself. He emerged and remained to be a natural leader of

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24. *ibid*, P.62
25. Satish Chandra, *Parties and politics at the Mughal Court. 1707-1740.* "Introduction". Delhi, 1972, P.XXXIX.
26. Athar Ali, *op.cit.* P.29

the Marathas as he was the son of the former regent of Ahmadnagar, grandson of Lakhoji Jadhavrao, and a near kinsman of the ancient house of Phaltan[27]. He could have easily adopted a life of a baron on Shahaji's estates, or could have joined the services of the Bijapur kingdom and risen up in due course. As it was, he had well understood the short lifespan of the Bijapur kingdom due to its internal divisions and the Mughal onslaughts and dangers looming up more threateningly than ever. He could have thus also joined the Mughal army with a coveted post ensured for him. Instead of all this, Shivaji took up the mighty task of the liberation of the Maratha state and society[28]. Shivaji formulated and practiced a policy of union and mutual trust among the Maratha nobles. The aim being to raise the Marathas above narrow prejudices like self-interests, undue selfishness regarding their jagirs or watans. The chief aim was to thus prepare the Marathas to be able to thwart away the Mughal dangers looming up menacingly. Shivaji attempted to enjoin men's interests to feel general pride and shame in success and failure. The Ghadges, Mores, Ghorpades, followed separatist interests and so thay had to be disregarded by the superior forces or skill so that the leading Maratha families could accept and follow and justify the higher trust reposed in them by Shivaji. Thus several

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27. C.V.Kincaid and Rao Bahadur D.B.Parasnis; <u>A history of the Maratha people</u>, London, 1931, P.131

28. <u>ibid</u>, P.132

Maratha nobles, such as Tanaji Malusare, his brother Suryaji, Baji Fasalkar, Netaji Palkar, Prabhu Baji Deshpande, Balaji Aoje, Brahman Moropant, Abaji sondev, Raghunath Narayan, Annaji Datto, Janardanpant Hanmante, Maratha Prataprao Gujar, Hambirao Mohite, Santaji Ghorpade, Dhanaji Jadhav, ancestors of Partoji Bhonsle, Udaji Pawar, Khanderao Dhabade, all served under Shivaji loyally in his armies[29].

The medieval Maratha socio-political structure was built around on the basis of the 'watan' system, which bespoke of a feudal content and organization. The socio-political order of the Marathas owed much to the caste stratification of the four varnas, brahmin, kshatriya, vaishya, and sudra. Beneath the surface of caste stratification, an effective socio-economic system was in operation through the system of the 'watan'. The watan signified a state grant to a person who held an office or rendered service to the state[30]. Thus, the watandars, the holders of the watan grant, were akin to the zamindars in the northern India. The network of the watans ranged from the Chattrapati, Peshwa, Sardar, Saranjamdar, and Mokasadar to the Deshmukh, Patil, Deshpande, and Kulkarni. These indicated the different tiers of ranks, power, and prestige. The watan was manifested of the essence of Maratha feudalism, wherein the major source of production

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29. M.G. Ranade, Rise of the Maratha power, Delhi, 1974, P.25

30. P.V. Ranade, "Feudal content of Maharashtra Dharma". I.H.R. 1974. Vol.I, No.I. P.45

was agriculture. The Maratha nobility also possessed the same class structure as was indicative of the muslim nobility of during medieval India. Like the nobility of the Delhi sultans and the Mughals, the Maratha nobles too survived upon the surplus labour that was extracted out of the peasantry. It has been maintained that this class was characteristically possessed of greed, and bore an unsatiated quest for aggrandizement[31]. The rise to power of the Maratha watandars meant the rise of Marathas. And the ideological part of the Maharashtra dharma helped the dominant Maratha watandars to consolidate their position among their people, and thus pave way for the expansion of the Maratha hegemony. This psychological ideal was used to arouse the common masses, especially Maratha peasants, so as to meet the Mughal power. It was only later on that it transformed into a plea for the Maratha exactions of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi which was legalized plunder in a way[32]. It finally alienated the Marathas from other communities in India.

Shivaji did not lead opposition to the institutions of the zamindari and other superior rights in the land, nor to the jagirdari system. We have the evidences of the Sabhasad, which states that regarding the landed elements, Shivaji demolished the castles and similar strongholds of

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31. ibid, P.46
32. ibid, P.50

the desais, and took power from the mirasdars. He had prohibited the latter from accepting inams or gifts or ijara or revenue-farming, and had fixed up the dues due from the zamindars from the villages in both-cash and grains. Further on, he had also determined the rights and perquisites of the deshmukhs, deshkulkarnis, patil, and kulkarnis. No doubt, his policy towards the landed elements turned out to be a long-drawn battle. His chief attention was directed towards the more influential deshmukhs, desh-kulkarnis etc. who had sufficient strength enough to form armies of their own and to build strongholds[33]. Inspite of these administrative measures, it did not mean that the Maratha zamindars played no part in the revenue-collection. They maintained their position of being the most significant social element in the countryside areas. Shivaji had to undertake a two-phased contest with the Maratha zamindars. The first phase lasted upto 1630. During this period, he remained busy in gaining the support of the Maval deshmukhs so as to enlarge and consolidate his personal jagir around Poona. During the second phase, in-between 1663-1674, he concentrated on meeting and repelling the Mughal invasions within his territories. Regarding the contention that Shivaji was against the jagirdari system, it may be said that he

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33. Satish Chandra; "Shivaji and the Maratha landed elements"- Indian Society: Historical Probings. In Memory of D.D. Kosambi. Ed; R.S.Sharma, New Delhi, 1974 P.253

objected to the mokasa tenures in which a large portion of the land was used to be assigned to the chief nobles with influential administrative powers. As such, Shivaji opposed the grant of the Mokasa mahals, i.e. entire parganas having administrative powers. Shivaji also ruled that the Mokasadars were to be subjected to detailed revenue assessments like the rayats. He, thus, attempted to introduce the Mokasa system on the pattern of the Mughal system of jagir. It may be, thus, accepted that Shivaji no doubt made rigorous efforts to check the abuse of power. He made attempts to strengthen the kingship by thus trying to check the encroachments of the deshpandes, deshmukhs, etc. on the privileges of the kingship. It may be also stated categorically that he had no plans to do away with the hereditary landed rights and jagir system[34]. Sovereignty in the Maratha state-system was not exercised entirely by the king and his ministers. Neither was the Maratha state a police state. It was inherent of a distinct social aim and had a moral outlook. The head of the state regulated the political and administrative affairs, social and religious affairs within the state, based upon the customs and the laws of the state. The Maratha state-system was not despotic or democratic. Neither can we adjudge its government as being feudal aristocratic or absolute monarchical[35]. Actually, the broad based democracy

34. *ibid*, P.262

35. R.V. Oturkar, "Theory of Sovereignty in Maratha state". I.H.C. 1961. P.242

of village panchayats and of functional and caste groups, was headed by a monarchical head and was councelled by a feudal aristocracy. Thus we see that all three constituents, monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, were all combined in one in medieval Maharashtra[36].

We now come to examine the Mughal-Maratha relationship during the time of Aurangzeb. The period from 1658 upto 1680 when Shivaji died, can be regarded as that of the first phase of it. The rise of the Marathas created a new situation[37]. The rise of the Marathas under Shivaji had affected the formation of an autonomous state of the Marathas, which naturally disturbed the political situation in the Deccan, especially from the Mughal view-point.

In-between January, 1658 and March, 1682, just a few successes and no permanent results could be achieved by the Mughals in the Deccan. This was due to personal and political reasons. The imperial officers had grown tired of the prolonged war with Shivaji. The Hindu officers in the imperial camp secretly sympathised with Shivaji due to personal reasons[38]. Moreover, the men and money supplied to the Mughal governors of the Deccan amounted not even to the

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36. ibid, P.242
37. Athar Ali, op.cit. P.29
38. J.N. Sarkar, A short history of Aurangzeb. 1618-1707 Calcutta, 1941, P.188

half of the actually desired amount so as to face up to the kingdoms of the strength of Bijapur, Maharashtra, etc. These were a few factors working behind the failure of the Mughals in the Deccan. The few important victories of Aurangzeb during this period were those of Jaoli, Janjira, and Pratapgad. He recognized Shivaji as the lord of all the territories which were in his possession and called upon him as an ally[39]. In 1657, Aurangzeb wrote that "Day by day, we are becoming more victorious. See! the impregnable Bedar fort, never before taken, and Kalyani, never stormed even in men's dreams, have fallen in a day. Others would have tried for days together to take them, but would have tried in vain"[40]. Still these happy victories for Aurangzeb, made Shivaji's resolve and ambitions even more stronger to see to the end of the Mughal influence over Maharashtra. Compelled by the exigencies of the times, Aurangzeb had to invite heartily the Maratha nobles to enter the Mughal services. He even tried to lure Shivaji into becoming a Mughal noble, with a grant of 5,000/5,000[41]. Through Raja Jai Singh's mediations, Shivaji was called to the imperial court at Agra. There, he and his son were introduced to Aurangzeb in 1666. The emperor had an offering of 500 ashrafis and 6000 rupees, altogether 30,000 rupees. By a royal command,

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39. C.V.Kincaid and Rao Bahadur D.B.Parasnis, op.cit. P.154
40. ibid, P.154
41. Athar Ali, op.cit. P.29

Shivaji was made a panj-hazari[42]. His young son too had been privately made a panj-hazari. Nathuji, a relative of Shivaji, was also raised to the same position. Thus Shivaji could claim nothing less a dignity than a haft-hazari(7000)[43]. But Shivaji was sore over the lukewarm reception he had received. Shivaji successfully flew away from Agra. After his return from Agra, Shivaji remained unenthusiastic about wars with the Mughals. He quitely began preparations for organizing his forces and government, and set upon to get back his lost forts. He approached Jaswant Singh, the Rajput noble at the Mughal court, for peace-negotiations with the Mughals and offered Shambhuji to be a Mughal mansabdar, which Aurangzeb accepted[44]. Thus in 1668, a treaty followed between Shivaji and Aurangzeb. Shivaji was, accordingly, conferred upon the title of Rajah by Aurangzeb and the mansab rank of 5,000 horse was continued on with in the case of Shambhuji[45]. The fort of Chakan was restored to Shivaji. Following the new agreement, Shivaji sent a Maratha contingent to Aurangabad under the stewardship of Pratap Rao and Niraji Raoji. Jagirs were assigned to Shambhuji in the Deccan. During the period 1667 to 1669 Shivaji remained to be

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42. Khafi Khan, Muntakhabu-l-lubab, in 'The history of India as told by its own historians'. The Muhammadan period. Vol.VII; Sir H.M.Elliot and J.Dowson, Calcutta, 1869, P.276
43. ibid, P.276
44. J.N. Sarkar, op.cit. P.217
45. C.V.Kincaid and D.B. Parasnis, op.cit. P.224

nearly a vassal of the Mughals and so kept quiet[46]. The Mughal military operations were actively pursued against the Marathas under the command of Shaasta Khan from 1660 to 1662, under Jai Singh from during 1665, under Mahabat Khan from 1673 to 1675, under Bahadur Khan from 1673 to 1675, and under Dilr Khan from 1678 to 1679[47]. Thus a state of war between Shivaji and the Mughals lasted for a prolonged period. During this period, most of the imperial generals were languid, and they hoodwinked their distant masters by maintaining secret understanding with Shivaji. They even accepted bribes from him[48].

Shivaji carried on with the spoilation of his neighbours. He justified himself on the grounds that he was compelled to maintain an army for the defence of the Marathas, due to the Mughal emperor's policies towards him. He maintained that this army must be paid through the aids coming out of the demands of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi as paid by the subjects of Aurangzeb[49]. We present herewith a statement of revenue receipts obtained by Shivaji as regards the collection from the Mughal empire[50].

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46. J.N.Sarkar, op.cit, P.218
47. J.N.Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb. Vol.IV. Calcutta, 1912-30, P.10
48. ibid, P.14
49. ibid, P.264
50. P.M.Joshi,(ed), Selections from Peshwa Daftar, New Series, Vol.I, Paper No.33/31, P.32, Bombay,1957

१८२७७७१४६ सुभा दखिण सुमार ६
१५५१६८८८५ सुभा हिंदुस्थान सुमार १६

३३८०४६२३१ — २२

सुभे जात दखिण

७६०७ ५२४२ ||| सुभा दारूलजाफर उर्फ विज्यापुरी
७७१० १७८ | = सुभा बेदर १ || पो १
१२२७ ७९ ६८ ÷ सुभा आलजपूर देश वरोड १
१२७६ ३१४२ ||० सुभा खानदेश उर्फ १
६५८४९२२५ = सुभा हैदराबाद उर्फ भागानगर

तेरीज सुभा दखण व सरकार व माहाल व देशात मिलोन

तनखा

सरकार	माहाल
१९	२५२

This paper, (illustrated overleaf), represents the figures of the total revenues of India, as obtained by Shivaji when he was crowned at Raigad. It is an apt illustration of that ruler's enquiring turn of mind. The figures represent rupees[51].

A significant phase in the Maratha-Mughal relationship ended with the death of Shivaji in 1680. The resources and territories which Shivaji had amassed during his lifetime, were, not, by any chance, dangerous or formidable to the Mughal interests. What was crucial from the Mughal interest was the example which Shivaji had set by his actions and systems adopted[52]. The spirit infused by him in the Marathas was also of crucial importance for the Mughal interests.

The second phase of the Mughal-Maratha relationship can be marked out in the period between 1680 and 1707. This phase begins with the reign of Shivaji's son and successor Shambhuji. An important development of this period was the flight of Aurangzeb's son, Prince Akbar to the Deccan. In 1681, Prince Akbar, while at Shambhuji's court, was accorded a daily subsistence allowance of 60 huns, i.e. 300 rupees, By Shambhuji. Akbar's plans were to get the

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51. Ibid

52. J.G.Duff, A history of the Mahrattas. Vol.I. Calcutta, 1918, P.242

money loan from Shambhuji, then join the Rajputs in the Rajputana, chiefly the Rathors and the Sisodias, then invade upper India and capture the imperial forces of Aurangzeb, and there-after to occupy the imperial throne so as to become the Mughal sovereign[53]. But Shambhuji thought it futile to leave the safe terrains of the Deccan to proceed towards the northern Indian plains. In his absence, Akbar might have made attempts to subjugate Maharashtra. As such, being now convinced of his host's insincerity to his plans, Prince Akbar planned to leave him in 1682.

In these circumstances, Aurangzeb's career entered the last phase. This period was significant as the number of Maratha nobles increased within the folds of the Mughal nobility. As his difficulties increased in proportion, and the Deccan problem persisted on, Aurangzeb planned to negotiate a settlement with the Marathas using Shahu as an intermidiary and pretext. Shahu, the eldest son of Shambhuji, had been brought up at the Mughal court as a prisoner since the age of seven, after the surrender of Raigarh in 1689. In 1705, Aurangzeb prevailed upon Shahu to convert himself into a Muslim. Next he attempted to divide the Marathas by releasing Shahu. The terms of his release were to be negotiated and settled with the major Maratha generals through Prince

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53. J.N.Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb. Vol. IV. Calcutta, 1912-30, P.336

Kam Baksh's mediation. To approach the Maratha leaders, Rai Bhan Maratha, son of Vyankoji Bhosle of Tanjore, was given a Mughal service, and created a 6-hazari[54], and was sent to visit Shahu, but this move ended in failure. After all, there was no reason as to why should the Marathas patch-up peace when they were still in power in the Deccan. Shahu was thus again imprisoned at the imperial court. Aurangzeb was helpless. During the last year of his life, in 1707, he once again attempted to build up peace efforts with the Marathas. Shahu was thus transferred to the care of Nusrut Jang. Rai bhan was posted under him to persuade the Maratha leaders to seek out terms with Aurangzeb, as the price of the release of Shahu, but of no avail. A civil war had taken place now among the Marathas. Rajas Bai tried to seize Tara Bai and Aurangzeb's plans of having infused additional dissenssions by bringing Shahu into these affairs, also failed[55]. It was only after Aurangzeb died that Shahu's freedom was planned by Prince Azam.

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54. J.N.Sarkar, Trans; Nuskha-i-Dilkasha, as Part II in the English translation of Tarikh-i-Dilkusha in Sir Jadunath Sarkar Birth Centenary Commemoration Volume, 1972. Ed. V.G.Khobrekar. P. 239

55. J.N. Sarkar, op.cit. P.359

After Rajaram's death, Tara Bai became very influential in Maharashtra. She managed the state affairs in her son's name. Tara Bai was opposed to the veteren Ram Chandra Pant who was negotiating for the recall of Shahu to Maharashtra. Tara Bai, with the support of Parashuram Trimbak, Dhanaji, and Shankaraji Narayan, pursued the war with the Mughals relentlessly[56]. She deserves commendation for Maharashtra's success against heavy odds during the eighteenth century. She used to make her commands communicated outside through Giroji Yadav, her trusted guardian of the Panhala fort.

The rise of Shahu synchronizes with that of the Peshwas. It symbolized the eclipse of Ram Chandra Pant Amatya, the well-known regenerator of the Maratha nationality[57]. It was tragic that he, as the connecting link between the old and the new order, became extinct. Let us now review the administrative activities of Chatrapati Shahu during his early years. The Maratha kingdom, which at the time of his death extended from Cauvery to the Ganges and Jumna, comprised at the start of his reign of a small tract surrounding Satara. It was constantly threatened by Tara Bai, the dowager queen of Rajaram on the south, and by the Mughals on the north and the east. Shahu took to his new responsibilities whole heartedly. He made new appointments, rewarded

56. G.S.Sardesai, New history of the Marathas, Vol.I, Bombay, 1948, P.372

57. ibid, P.373

his adherênts and followers, sent out orders for recovery of dues from the ryots, and cautiously directed the movement of his troops[58]. He had to suffer from financial strains. The land of the Marathas was in an unsettled stage, as raids and disturbances were carried on by Damaji Thorat, Chandrasen Jadhav and other several Muslim sardars. Balaji Vishwanath who became the primier of the Peshwa, was in confidence of Shahu, along with his brother Janoji[59]. He made rigorous efforts for peace in the Maratha state. Through his tireless efforts, without much resources at his behest Shahu triumphed over his overwhelming difficulties[60].

Shahu encouraged the prominent Maratha families. Under the Saranjami system, there was scope for lucrative military service. Now, even the Deccani and other brahmins, who formerly kept confined to priesthood, took up military service[61]. Shahu's regime provided Swaraj to the Marathas. In wake of military conquest, Maratha life expanded in other directions. Costly clothes and articles of use, court etiquette pomp and manners of the North Indian nobility, now came to be imitated all over the Deccan. The Maratha

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58. Peshwa Daftar. No-7(1707-1720) Early activities of Shahu and Balaji Vishwanath, 1707-1720
59. ibid
60. ibid
61. G.S. Sardesai, Main Currents of Maratha history, Calcutta, 1926, P.118

exactions of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi now took the colour of usual taxes, paid by people to the government everywhere as was done[62].

The disintegrating character of the Mughal empire was evident in the fact that the Mughals had failed to exploit to their benefit from the turbulent situation that had come to engulf Maharashtra after Shahu's return from the Mughal court in 1707. Though the decline of the Mughal power was quite clear in Aurangzeb's time itself, as the Marathas had fully controlled all Mughal encroachments in their own region. And no doubt Aurangzeb's successors proved to be incapicitated of recovering their lost suzerainty in the Deccan.

The Peshwas, Balaji Vishwanath and Baji Rao I, through their genius, thoroughly overshadowed the legitimate government of the Mughal provinces of Gujarat, Malwa and Bundelkhand, uptill 1740, while the Deccan proper was nearly almost as good as ceded to them[63]. To provide easy access to particular areas, for the objective of plundering taxes, the Peshwa had authorized to Dabhade, Bhonsle, and Pawar families, the regions of Gujarat, Berar, and Dhar respectively. Malwa and Bundelkhand remained in his charge.

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62. ibid, P.120

63. J.N.Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal empire. Vol.I. Calcutta, 1949, P.38

The Marathas stamped their victory over Delhi in 1719. Next, Farukhsiyar was deposed from the Mughal throne, The new sovereign, Rafiud Darajat, granted a Farman to the Marathas, obliging them with the collection of Chauth of the six subahs of the Deccan including the tributary states of Tanjore, Trichinopoly and Maisur. Yet another farman granted them with the sardeshmukhi right over Deccan. While the third farman confirmed Shahu in the possession of the Swarajya of Shivaji[64].

These developments made clear the chinks in the halo of the Mughal empire's 'greatness', which had previously awed the Marathas. Now the Marathas were treated at the Mughal court not as mercenaries but as the allies of the kingmakers. Balaji Vishwanath thus clearly saw the potential grounds for the build-up of the Maratha power, through enlisting the Rajput support. The build-up of the Maratha power initially called for an adjustment of interests for internal peace. Balaji Vishwanath acquired this through the Maratha feudatory system which made the chiefs inter-dependent. Secondly, he worked to secure a sphere of influence. This he achieved through the treaty of 1718-19 which granted to the Marathas Swarajya and other rights of collection of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi in the six subahs of

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64. H.N.Sinha, "The New Foundations of Maratha power" I.H.C., 1961, P.236

the Deccan. By the grant of these rights, the emperor virtually assigned to them a portion of the sovereign rights. The preservation of peace and order was now for and under and by the Marathas. Thus a sphere of influence was created by the Marathas which went on increasing with every peshwa, and with the decline of the Mughal empire[65]. In a way, the extension of the collection rights of chauth and sardeshmukhi to the Marathas in the six subahs of the Deccan, was reflective of a dual Mughal-Maratha land revenue administration, in these Mughal territories[66]. Besides the bearing of political implications, these grants of the chauth and sardeshmukhi collection, also bore far-reaching economic consequences in the Mughal territories. These grants had stipulated that the yield on this amount would be four and a half crore of rupees out of the entire estimated revenue of about eighteen crores of rupees. But the land was so devastated by wars that after Aurangzeb's death the actual yield was only of about half the estimated revenue. However, because of the depressed state of the land, the Maratha portions took nearly the entire amount of receipts and little could be received by the Mughal exchequer[67]. This exhausted the zamindars' paying capability, while the Mughal agents could not recover any amount. All this ruined the Mughal economy.

65. ibid, P.239

66. M.A.Nayeem, "The working of the Chauth and Sardeshmukhi system in the Mughal provinces of the Deccan. 1707-1803 A.D.", I.E.S.H.R., 1977. Vol.XIV, No.2 P.153

67. ibid, P.188

In comparison to the other successor states in Gujarat, Bengal, Oudh, Malwa, Hyderabad, Mysore, Punjab, cf during early eighteenth century, the Marathas left the legacy of the most complete and organized administrative record. The Marathas undertook four significantly distinct stages of military expansion, which simultaneously worked up the loosening of the Mughal administrative system[68]. The earliest Maratha forays were based on camp-raidings. In the second stage, the new leadership of the Peshwas made it possible to co-ordinate raids of perhaps 1000 to 5000 troops, even larger. The third stage during 1730s saw regular attacks on garrisons and towns. In the fourth stage, the Peshwa assembled about 10,000 troops to defeat a Mughal main force in 1738[69].

It is worth noting that the peasants in the Mughal territories were driven under the influence of the Marathas due to some reasons. The oppression of the peasantry was carried on by the tyrannical pattis, faujdars, and zamindars, who used to extract money from the peasants on every and any pretext[70]. The zamindars paid the dam or diram only after having extracted it from the peasants. The Maratha forays

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68. Stewart N.Gordon, "The Slow Conquest: Administrative Integration of Malwa into the Maratha empire. 1720-1760". Modern Asian Studies, Vol.II,1977

69. ibid

70. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian system of Mughal India. 1556-1707. Zerox. Jawaharlal Nehru University Library. Delhi. P.347

also aggravated the peasantry, through the extortion of money and plunderings. The peasants of the Deccan had suffered for a long time, even before Shivaji's rise, under the pressure of the Mughals against the Deccan kingdoms[71]. Large areas were ravaged, grain was seized, people were enslaved by the invading armies. Thus the peasants were in flight when Aurangzeb came as the Viceroy of the Deccan for his second term there.

We will now provide a sketch of some of the notable comtemporary Maratha nobles and noble houses. Not all Maratha families were on the national side during their struggle with Aurangzeb. For their own various reasons, many Maratha families served the Mughal government with distinction.

The noble house of Jadav Rao of Sindhkhed, Shivaji's mother's family, had entered Shahjahan's service around 1630. This was after the murder of Lakhji Jadav Rao. They stayed on the imperial side for several generations. Kanhoji shirke, and his sons, who were related to Rajaram's mother's family after being persecuted by Shambhuji, had been appointed to high posts within the Mughal government. They along with Nagoji Mane who was the thanedar of Masnad and a Mughal

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71. ibid, P.348

partisan from 1694, remained loyal to the Mughals and rendered valuable services to them. Three other important nobles at the Mughal court were Avji Adhal who was the thanedar of Khanapur, Ramchandra who was the thanedar of Khatau and who died fighting in 1700, and Baharji Pandhre who was the thanedar of Kashigaon. Another significant Maratha noble at the Mughal court was Satvaji Dafle who had a chequered career[72]. His family also served under the Adil Shahi kings. On the decline of that dynasty, they joined the Mughals. Satvaji's son, Baji Chavan Dafle died while leading the party at the seige of Satara in 1700. Satvaji had left the Mughal service before 1695 but rejoined them in 1701 while he was created a 5-hazari and provided with a jagir due to his late son's heroism.

Thousands of Mavles or the Maratha hill infantry served under Aurangzeb, though they never added much to the imperial army[73]. Because their equipments were inferior than the regular Mughal troops, their captains also changed sides frequently and fought carelessly for their paymaster.

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72. J.N. Sarkar, op.cit, P.359
73. ibid, P.360

Netaji Palkar, a prominent general of Shivaji, disagreed with him and joined the Mughals and got himself converted to Islam. Aurangzeb sent him on an expedition to Afghanistan as the subordinate of Jai Singh. He was granted a mansab by the Mughals and also a jagir in the Deccan. He served under the Mughals for a decade[74]. After this, he returned to Shivaji's fold and reconverted himself again to Hinduism.

Janoji Jaswant Nimbalkar was the son of Rao Rambha. Rao Rambha (Rambhaji Deccani) was appointed to the Deccan and was given a high office during Aurangzeb's time. Janoji distinguished himself in the battles with Alam Ali Khan and Mubriz Khan Imad-ul-Mulk. So he received the rank of 7000 with 7000 horses. After Asaf Jah's death he was given a suitable rank and held hereditary estates. His son Maha Rao held government service. Janoji died in 1762-63[75].

Maluji and Parsuji were brothers of Kheluji Bhonsle. In Shahjahan's time, Kheluji joined the Mughal service and was attached to Khan Zaman who was the son of Mahabat Khan, and was the governor of the Deccan including Berar and Khandesh. His rank was raised to 5000 foot with 5000 horse.

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74. V.K.Kanole, "Some light on the descendants of Netaji Palkar". I.H.C. 1961. P.138

75. Shah Nawaz Khan, Maathir-ul-Umara, Vol.I, PP.750-751

A congratulatory order was sent to him along with a robe of honour, a decorated dagger, a flag, a drum, a horse with gilded saddle and an elephant. He was made a Deccan auxiliary and proved to be a trusted royal servant. He distinguished himself in the early part of the siege of Danlatabad in the company of Khan Khanan. He later on joined Adil Shah and confronted the imperial armies. Prince Aurangzeb captured him in the thirteenth year of his governorship and punished him. Maluji and Parsuji, Kheluji's younger brothers distinguished themselves with the Nizam Shahs[76]. Maluji was subsequently drawn to the Mughal service. He was given the rank of 5000 foot and 5000 horse and also a drum. Both brothers were faithful to the Deccani governors. When Prince Aurangzeb planned to conquer Baglana, Maluji was given that duty with 3000 men. Maluji successfully performed his duty. During the governance of Prince Murad Baksh, Maluji was one of the most important Deccani officers. Maluji helped Prince Aurangzeb in the collection of tribute from Deogarh. He joined Aurangzeb in the besieging of Golcunda. The two brothers received the fief of Irij Bhandar and some paraganas in its neighbourhood. They served as auxiliaries when Jaswant Singh was sent to Malwa, and also participated in the battle of Ujjain. Later on in the battle of Samugarh, they were on Dara shikoh's side. They joined Aurangzeb when he emerged

76. ibid, Vol.II. P.43

victorious in the war of succession. But as Aurangzeb had his resentment against them, they were removed from office. But Maluji was granted pension of 30,000 while Parsuji of 20,000 rupees[77].

Udaji Ram was a brahmin. He acquired the zamindari of the territories extending from Mahor to Mahkar. In the time of Jahangir he was enlisted as an imperial noble. He was given the rank of 4000 Dhat and horse and was included as an Deccani auxiliary. When the imperial forces came to Balaghat they relied on his local knowledge. Mahabat Khan also honoured him and all the Deccani governors respected him[78]. His son was given the rank of 3000 foot and 2000 horses.

Shahuji Bhonsle joined the imperial service in Shahjahan's time. He was made a Panj hazari and given 5000 horses.

Shahu, the son of Sambhaji, was brought to the Mughal court after his father's death. The emperor granted him the title of Raja and a mansab of 7000 with 7000 horses[79]. He was assigned a place inside royal enclosure and was brought up under royal supervision. Later on he settled down at Satara.

77. <u>ibid</u>, P.44
78. <u>ibid</u>, P.968
79. <u>ibid</u>, P.790

On the basis of the Kaifiyats and Genealogies as collected in the Peshwa Daftars, we give here a list of the important Maratha historical families[80].

Kaifiyats

1. Anyaba Rahatekan
2. Anandrao Babur
3. Anandrao Malhar Tanjavarkar
4. Khatik Kumaji Baloji
5. Krishnarao Narayan Joshi
6. Krishnasha of Jawhar
7. Krishnaji Dabhade
8. Khanderao Ganesh Odhekar
9. Khando Gomaji Purandare
10. Gangadhan Govind Bhanu
11. Ganesh Shamraj Subhedar
12. Chandrarao More
13. Anandrao Gopal Supekar
14. Trimbakrao Sonavani
15. Daulatrao Lad Watharkar
16. Naro Mareshwar Bhagwat
17. Ramaji Yadav Bhovalkar
18. Naro Ganesh Ok
19. Pandurang Abaji Kale
20. Parvasikar Kolhatkar
21. Bachaji Vishwanath Khandekar
22. Lilaram Narasinha Deshpande
23. Bahiro Narayan Pingale of Pratapgad
24. Balaji Raghunath Patwardhan
25. Bajirao Subhanji Rananavare
26. Mir Sadatulla Khan, Kiledar of Trimbak

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80. Peshwa Daftars. P.D. 44. PP.1-2

27. Mir Sahadat Tulakha
28. Morshet Karmnji
29. Rangarao Vinayak Purandare
30. Ravirao Sindia
31. Ramchandra Nilkanth Page
32. Yeshwantrao Bhonsle Sakhrikar
33. Ramchandra Vyankatesh Gune Kalekar
34. Lakshman Santajirao Dhaybhar
35. Vithal Chintaman Punekar
36. Khanderao Rasti
37. Vishwasrao Bhaskar Gokhale
38. Vyankatrao Shivaji Marathe
39. Sadashiv Shamrao Koregaonkar
40. Sadashiv Raghunath Gadre

Genealogies[81]

1. Anandrao Gopal Supekar
2. Abaji Raghunath, Chitnis to Sindia of Gwalior
3. Avji Kavde
4. Ichharampant Dhere
5. Krishambhat Kashibhat Rajarshi
6. Konhar Trimbak Ekbote
7. Ganesh Narayan Dhadphale
8. Chapaji Tilekar
9. Janes Bhintada
10. Janardan Appaji Brande
11. Chahuji Naik Chihul of Purandar
12. Tukaram of Dehu (saint)
13. Trimbak Hari, Subha of Supa
14. Dhondo Mahadeo, Senakarte
15. Narasingrao Dhaygude

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81. Ibid

16. Naro Anant Parchure
17. Parashurampant Pratinidhi
18. Pilaji Jadhavrao
19. Prayag Anant Phanse
20. Prataprao Gujar
21. Baji Bhivrao Rethekar
22. Bahaji Vithal Karkhanis of Purandar
23. Balaji Kate, Deshmukh
24. Manakeshwar Dhaygude
25. Mahadaji Krishna Joshi
26. Moropant Pingale
27. Yeshwantrao Potris
28. Ragho Lakshman Purandare
29. Ramchandra Ganesh Kanade
30. Ramchandra Damodar Ambikar
31. Shankaraji Malhar
32. Shamji Govind Takle
33. Shamrao Ambaji Kirkole
34. Santaji Somvanshi
35. Gopalbhat Barve
36. Hari Ballal Phadke
37. Bapuji Bhimsen Parasnis
38. Mahadajipant Rajmachikar
39. Naro Gangadhar Mujumdar
40. Vishwanathpant Behere
41. Gadadhar Prahlad Pratinidhi
42. Hande, Deshmukh

We now provide a list of Maratha nobles during the Mughal empire:[82]

Name	Rank
Shambhaji	6000/6000
Maluji Deccani	5000/5000
Netoji	5000/-
Jadaun Rai Deccani	4000/2500
Damaji	4000/1300
Parsoji Deccani	3000/2000
Dataji Deccani	3000/2000
Jagjiwan, Udaji Ram	3000/2000
Antaji Khandakala	3000/2000
Baba Ji Bhonsla	2500/1500
Mana Ji Bhonsla	2500/1500
Rustom Rao	2500/1200
Trimbak Ji Bhonsla	2500/1000
Naruji Deccani	2000/1600
Vyas Rao or Biyas Rao	2000/1200
Dadaji	2000/1000
Tanuji	2000/1000
Baguji Deccani	1500/1500
Rambhaji Deccani	1500/1200
Daku Ji	1500/1000
Raghu Ji	1500/1000
Sharza Ras Kawa	1500/900
Chatru Ji Deccani	1000/1000
Mana Ji	1000/700
Garkhu Ji	1000/600
Raghu Ji Ghoparay	1000/500
Pahla Wijai	1000/300
Raja Shahu	7000/7000

82. Athar Ali, *op.cit.*, PP.175-271

Name	Rank
Kanjuji Shirke	6000/5000
Satwad Dafalya	6000/5000
Man Singh, S/o. Sanbhaji	6000/1000
Rai Bhan	6000/-
Achla Ji Nimbalkar Deccani	5000/5000
Malu Ji	5000/5000
Nagu Ji Mane	5000/4000
Bahraji Pandhre	5000/3000
Sume Shankar	5000/3000
Pars Ram	5000/3000
Khevji	5000/2500
Sujan Rao	5000/2000
Rana Ji Janardan	5000/2000
Janku Ji	5000/1200
Nathu Ji Deccani	5000/-
Yaswant Rao Deccani	4000/4000
Baji Chavan Dafle	4000/-
Siya Ji	4000/-
Jakia Deshmukh	3500/2000
Tarsu Ji or Parsu Ji	3500/-
Taku Ji	3000/3000
Neta Ji	3000/3000
Dholu Ji	3000/3000
Anand Rao	3000/3000
Bhan Purshit	3000/2500
Krishna Ji	3000/2000
Patang Rao	3000/2000
Jadrawat	3000/2000
Jewa Ji Pandit	3000/2000
Badar Ji or Pada Ji	3000/1500
Baji Rao	3000/1000
Jadaun Rai Deccani	3000/-

Name	Rank
Jagat Rai Deshmukh	3000/-
Manku Ji Deccani	2500/2000
Mahan Ji	2500/2000
Sambhaji Ji Bandhara	2500/2000
Sadhu Ji	2500/2000
Bhali Rao	2500/2000
Naro Ji Raghav	2500/2000
Mahad Ji Mane	2500/1500
Raghu Ji	2500/1500
Kondaji	2500/1000
Ram Chand	2000/2000
Mahman Ji	2000/2000
Mana Ji	2000/2000
Rao Dena Ji	2000/2000
Teema Ji	2000/1000
I su Ji Deccani	2000/1000
Arju Ji	2000/1000
Maku Ji	2000/1000
Rao Ji	2000/500
Dau Ji	2000/500
Jau Ji	2000/500
Madho Ji Narayan	2000/-
Shiv Ji	1500/1500
Daundi Rao	1500/1000
Kan Rao	1500/1000
Rana Ji	1500/1000
Sadhu Ji	1500/1000
Tuku Ji	1500/700
Auchi Auhal Rao	1500/700
Jalu Ji	1500/500
Aku Ji	1500/500
Bhali Rao	1200/1200
Malu Ji	1000/1000

Name	Rank
Bajey	1000/1000
Sivi Ji	1000/1000
Yasa Ji	1000/1000
Dalu Ji	1000/1000
Anba Ji	1000/1000
Naba Ji	1000/1000
Mana Ji	1000/1000
Amba Ji	1000/500
Ram Rao	1000/400
Mana Ji	1000/700
Khandu Ji	1000/700
Deo Ji	1000/700
Malu Ji	1000/700
Siv Ji	1000/700
Bahr Ji	1000/500
Bir Bhan	1000/500
Neta Ji	1000/450
Baya Ji	1000/500
Chandhuji	1000/1000
Rao Joghat	1000/500
Birmuji	1000/500
Rao Man Singh	1000/900
Vyankat	1000/-
Jagdeo Rai	High Rank
Devji	High Rank
Madan Singh	High Rank
Kheluji	High Rank
Ramaji	High Rank
Tanuji	High Rank
Malhar Rao	High Rank

CHAPTER - 5

NOBILITY IN MUGHAL ADMINISTRATION

The Mughal political system was despotic. In such a monarchical state system the fate and fortunes of all the nobles, whether Hindus or Muslims, depended on the general approval of the highest authority in the state, i.e. the emperor. The institution of the court was therefore very crucial, because the nobility looked towards the court for its personal gratification, official and non-official[1]. The emperor, on the other hand, had to depend on the nobility because he had to govern the empire through its help and services. The emperor's interests were thus twofold. He had to see whether the nobles actually carried out his orders or not and also whether they mis-appropriated their power or not[2]. Thus a study of the exact relationship existing between the Mughal nobility and the Mughal court becomes imperative, in the process also analysing the fruitful relationship governing the Mughal nobility to the Mughal emperor.

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1. Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari, Vol.II, tr, Jarrett, Calcutta, 1949. P.93

2. Ibid, P.108

An easy and comfortable division can be executed so far as the Mughal nobility is concerned. This division applies to the Mughal nobility all through its existence from Babur down to Aurangzeb and Bahadur Shah. First, the two sections of the Mughal nobility done on this basis are called Tainat-i-rakab, and Tainat-i-subajat[3]. The Tainat-i-rakab comprised those nobles who were posted at the court itself[4]. And the Tainat-i-subajat comprised those nobles who were posted in the outlying units of the empire, namely the provincial units[5]. It may be also stated here that these divisions were complimentary and flexible. These divisions were executed chiefly and primarily on the postings of different officials or nobles. But all these nobles could be very comfortably changed and intermixed from group to group. Thus, it can be re-stated that these two divisions of the administrative Mughal nobility were flexible and interchangeable.

The Mughal nobility was attuned to fixed rules and regulations. For example, all the different gradations of the Mughal nobility required the practice of one fixed tradition. This was, that before the actual transfer of the

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3. Muhammad Salih Kambo, Amal-i-Salih, ed.-G.Yazdani, Bib. Ind. Calcutta, 1923-46, P.72

4. Ibid, P.81

5. Ibid, P.85

noble, he was subjected to a strict disciplinarian presence at the court level itself[6]. This was done before the concerned noble proceeded to his new place of transfer and assignment, where it may be[7]. But as it was, the noble was not required to present himself at the court in one case. This was, that, if his transfer was due to any fault committed by him, his presence at the court was not required any more[8]. Any noble, who used to come to the court without the imperial grant of permission, was considered and subjected to be dismissed from his paternal post[9].

The administrative divisions of the Mughal nobility into the Tainat-i-rakab and Tainat-i-subajat was done while keeping note of the different essential elements into view[10]. Such nobles who had organising and administrative talents, were on the whole deputed to the out-lying districts of the empire[11]. Such nobles rarely did make their appearance at the court and they were not even required to give their presence at the level of the court. Such a condition changed only then, when, the presence of the nobles was determindedly essential at the court[12]. The nobles coming under the

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6. Bayazid Biyat, Tazkara-i-Humayun wa Akbar, ed. M.Hidayat Hosain, (Bib. Ind. 1941). P.61.
7. Ibid, P.63
8. Muhammad Hashim Khafi Khan, Muntakhab-al-Lubab, ed. K.D.Ahmad and Haig, Bib.Ind, (Calcutta, 1860-74), P.175
9. Niceolao Manucci, Storia Do Mogor. Vol.I, 1653-1708, tr. W.Irvine, (London, 1907-8) P.123
10. Francois Bernier, Travels in the Mogul empire, tr.A.Constable ed. Smith, (Delhi, 1968), P.218
11. Ibid, P.221
12. Ibid, P.230

periphery of Tainat-i-rakab, were kept present at the court in the capital to be serving and acting as a unit in reserve. Such nobles were asked to deputise for the state in all the different military and political campaigns of the state[13]. As such, such nobles who were of eminent ranks and of high abilities, were stationed under the watchfull eyes of the emperor himself. So that they may be put to any urgent military duty as may be required from time to time[14]. The Mughal emperors also kept maintaining a comparatively large force ready at their urgent disposal so that no military general however, powerful he may be, may not be able to exercise such a thing as a coup d' etat[15].

There were certain systems prevailing at the Mughal court as regards the court etiquette, customs, rituals, common and uncommon practices, and so on. The Mughal nobles, those who were stationed at the capital, were required to present themselves two times in a day before the emperor. They were to be presented before the emperor every morning and evening all through the year[16]. But this rule was also flexible under times of duration, such as personal illness, private business and so on[17].

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13. Ibid, P.223.
14. William Irvine, The army of the Indian Moghuls. (London, 1903), P.51
15. Ibid, P.54.
16. J.N.Sarkar, Mughal administration (Calcutta,1920). P.82.
17. Ibid, P.84.

Before the emperor and especially on ceremonial occassions, definite rules and rituals were strictly observed. Thus the nobles were presented before the emperor in their proper order of ranks, position and precedence[18]. Proper and distinctive rows of nobles signified there exact ranks and position, each noble standing at his very definite and appointed situation[19]. None of the nobles could sit down while the proceedings of the court were in progress[20]. After the emperor had formally sat down upon the throne, none of the nobles could leave his presence without obtaining the formal permission of the emperor[21]. Without obtaining the emperor's permission, no noble could come to the court with arms[22]. No noble could arrive in a palki within the confines of what was called the gulab-bar or the enclosure of the emperor's private place of residence[23]. Those colours which were declared to be illegal by the <u>shariat</u>, were prohibited to be used by the nobles, especially while in and around the court[24]. The nobles were also prohibited to don the half sleeves and they could not, according to the rules, wound shawls around their shoulders while in the

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18. M.H.Khafi Khan, <u>op.cit</u>, Vol.II, P.172
19. <u>Ibid</u>, Vol.II, P.190
20. N.Manucci, <u>op.cit</u>, Vol.I. P.147
21. <u>Ibid</u>, P.148
22. <u>Ibid</u>, P.149
23. Aminuddin Khan, <u>Malumat-ul-Afaq</u>, N.K. Edition,1870, P.52
24. <u>Ibid</u>, P.53

mighty and honourable presence of the emperor[25]. The Mughal emperors had also prohibited the eating and exchange of betel-leaves or pan by the nobles in the court as it was considered to be a breach in the maintenance of court etiquette[26]. The most significant task performed by the nobles while at court was connected with the mounting of guards at the royal palace[27]. This practice remained as it was from Akbar down to Bahadurshah. The European traveller, Jean Baptiste Tavernier has offered a graphic picture of the same.

> "The first court is, as I have elsewhere said, surrounded by porticoes with small rooms connected with them, and here it is that the Qmrahs stay while they are on guard for it should be remarked that one of the Qmrahs mounts guard every week. He disposes both in the court as also about the Emperor's palaces or that when he is in the field, the cavalry under his command, and many elephants. The best of these Qmrahs command 2000 horses, but, when a prince of the blood royal is on guard, he commands upto 6000"[28]

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25. Anand Ram Mukhlis, Mirat-al-Istilah, M.S. K.B.K.O. Library, Patna, F.166
26. N.Manucci, op.cit, Vol.I. P.202
27. Abul Fazl, op.cit, Vol.I. P.267
28. J.B.Tavernier, Travels in India, 1640-67. tr.V. Ball, Vol.I. London, 1889, PP.302-3.

Again,

> "The principal nobles mount guard every Monday, each in his turn and they are not relieved before the end of a week. Some of these nobles command 5000 or 6000 horses and encamp under their tents around the town"[29]

But absence from mounting guard in case of sickness, marriage and death was also to be seen and there were rules about it[30].

Whenever the emperor rode an elephant for the occassion of a procession, the nobles followed him riding on their personal horses[31]. And when the emperor was himself riding a horse, the nobles used to follow him on foot[32]. Several ceremonial rules and regulations of the court were chiefly the privilege of the emperor. The chief reason as to why were these court rules and regulations so stringent and so elaborate, was to keep the nobles in check, to check their recalcitrance and to impress upon them the aura of

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29. Ibid, Vol.I, P.126
30. Jean De Thevenot, The Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri, ed. S.N.Sen, Delhi, 1949, P.248
31. J.B.Tavernier, op.cit, Vol.I. P.308
32. Ibid, P.310.

the emperor's power, position, and prestige[33]. In those Mughal times all this was a part of the basically intimate and essential instruments of the state government and administration[34]. The Mughal emperors maintained and practised their pomp and splendour very essentially so as to make the nobility aware that it was much below the emperor's prestige and position and that its power and position depended on the emperor's goodwill and liking[35]. Moreover, the Mughal emperors were always in need to emphasize to their subjects that all the nobles were their paid servants, and they themselves were alone everything and everybody, they being the supremos[36].

The Mughal nobility was decorated with honorary titles and distinctions[37]. The Mughal rulers followed the policy of giving incentive to the people to pave the way for a better state, society, and culture[38]. In this way they succeeded in gaining the support and cooperation of the Hindustani masses. Among the different distinctive marks of honour presented by the Mughal emperors to people

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33. V.A.Smith, Akbar the great Mogul, Oxford, 1919. P.89
34. Ibid, P.93
35. Peter Mundy, Travels in Asia, Vol.II, London,1914. P.199
36. Ibid, Vol. II, P.202
37. Jahangir, Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Aligarh, 1863-64. P.92.
38. Ibid, P.94

were significantly known as titles, standards, kettle-drums or nakarrahs, robes of honour, and various presents ranging from betel-leaves to jewelled daggers and swords, etc.[39] The European traveller, Niccolao Manucci has remarked that,

> "The king confers these names either as a mark of distinction and of the esteem he holds them in by reasons of their services, or else from friendship and liking. These lords can acquire more wealth as well as more titles"[40].

The same author also states that,

> "At present there is a very great number of them; but in Shahjahan's days, it was not so, and it was very hard to acquire these titles, for it was at once necessary to give a heavy payment and produce enough to maintain a great display"[41].

A title which was once granted, used to serve as officially as the name of the individual noble concerned. Many titles were kept reserved for the Muslim nobles, and

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39. Ibid, PP.96-97
40. N.Manucci, op.cit, Vol.II, P.359
41. Ibid, Vol.II, P.369

some other titles for the Hindus[42]. Some titles were kept in reserve for the common masses as pertaining to the achievement of excellence in the different professions.

The title of 'Khan' was of pre-eminent importance. So the Mughal administration used to take great care so that the title of 'Khan' may not be given to any noble who had as yet not achieved the required position[43]. During the last days of the Mughal empire, the element of heredity came to be witnessed, as a result of which if any son of a dead noble proved to be worthy then in such a case he was provided with his dead father's title[44]. It was also seen that the same title was not given to more than one person, because two persons could not hold this title at the same time[45]. Titles were also given to those if they had changed their titles or had received new ones in place of the old ones. Some titles, such as those of Mahabat Khan, Amir Khan and so on, were held by other nobles even after the actual holders were dead[46]. Those titles, which pertained to important nobles before, attached an immense prestige and value. The nobles often were busy in buying such titles by offering gifts and bribes, etc.[47] The titles to the Mughal

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42. Ibid, Vol.II, PP.366-69
43. Abdul Hamid Lahori, Badshah-Nama, ed. Maulvi Kabiruddin and Maulvi Abdur Rahim, Bib. Ind.Calcutta,1867-68. P.22
44. Saqi Mustaid Khan, Maasir-i-Alamgiri, Bib. Ind,Calcutta,1871. P.489
45. M.H.Khafi Khan, op.cit. Vol.II, P.627
46. Saqi Mustaid Khan, op.cit, P.489
47. Ibid, P.489

nobles were awarded at the emperor's accession, on the day of the Naoroz or the Persian New Year day, as also on the birthday of the emperor, and also on the victory day of any Mughal imperial military campaign[48]. Khilats or robes of honour were given to the nobles to signify the emperor's gratitude and favour. These robes of honour consisted of upto six or seven pieces of cloth and ornaments and were of various shades and colours[49]. The robes of honour were provided on the same days on which the titles were conferred upon the nobles[50]. The Hindu nobles were conferred upon the robes of honour during the important Hindu festival of Dushehra[51].

Emperor Akbar conferred upon the nobles various standards such as Alam, Chatrtoq, Tumantoq, Jhanda, etc[52]. During the later Mughal period, another new standard, Mahi-Maratib, came into being. The standard of Mahi-Maratib was in practice during the Sultunate period of Indian history, and was also prevalent in the Muslim kingdoms of southern India[53]. This standard became the highest honour of state in the Mughal empire, and it was given to only those nobles

48. A.H. Lahori, op.cit, P.46
49. J.B.Tavernier, op.cit. Vol.I, P.163
50. Ibid, P.163
51. Muhammad Kazim, Alamgir Nama, Calcutta,1865-73. P.57
52. Abul Fazl, op.cit. Vol.I. PP.29-30
53. A.H. Lahori, op.cit. PP.398-99

who were in the rank of 7000 or above[54]. Similarly, the standard of Alam was conferred upon only those nobles who were in the rank of 1000 or above[55]. Naubat was conferred on a noble of the rank of 2000 or above[56]. On the occassion of the conferring of these standards, the nobles were given cash offerings by the emperors, besides several other varieties of gifts such as jewels, swords and daggers, elephants and horses[57]. There were some standards which were conferred on very rare occassions, such as Padm-i-murasa and Sarpech-i-yamani[58]. There were several other ways through which the Mughal emperors showed their generosity towards the nobles, for example they used to write formal letters of good wishes and congratulations to the highest of their nobles[59]. Whenever any particular relative of any important noble died, the emperors sent their condolences to the bereaved noble[60]. The most important and influential of the nobles were related quite often to the emperor himself, because the emperor and his sons used to choose their prospective brides from families of such nobles who had an aristocratic background and rich financial and cultural

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54. Ibid, P.400
55. Anand Ram Mukhlis, op.cit. f.16a
56. Ibid, f. 16a
57. Chandra Bhan Barhaman, Guldasta, M.S. K.B.K.O. Library, Patna, P.53.
58. Jawahar Mal Bekas, Dastur-al-Amal, M.S.K.B.K.O. Library, Patna, PP.72-74.
59. A.H. Lahori, op.cit. P.243
60. Ibid, P.349.

heritages[61]. In this context, mention may be made of the great and powerful Rajput houses who provided well-born brides to the Mughal imperial family for generations at end[62]. When the Mughal emperors asked for brides either for himself or for his sons, it was considered as a very honourable jesture on his part, and though limited to only a few selected families, this accounted to the acquisition of a lot of imperial favour and prestige for the concerned families of nobles[63]. However, as the political exigencies of the times demanded, the Mughal emperors, never themselves, gave the women-folk of their imperial families to any noble however prestigious his family may be, the fate of the ladies of the imperial family thus being sealed[64].

An overview of the role of the Mansabdars or nobles in the public service of the Mughal empire, is necessary. The Mughal government did not believe in national reconstruction. Its moral responsibility lay in the maintenance of law and justice, political and social order, prevention of crimes, and prevention of violent conflicts between the different sections of the Mughal society[65].

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61. J.B.Tavernier, op.cit. Vol.II, PP.96-98
62. Abul Fazl, op.cit. Vol.II, P.88
63. Ibid, P.64
64. Ibid, P.67
65. Ibid, PP.201-3

The chief Mughal state activity revolved around the organisation of the military, collection of revenue, functioning of the judicial system, and so on. The judiciary was an independent unit in itself, but the remaining functions of the government were assigned to, and worked out in practice by the Mughal Mansabdars[66].

The Mansabdari organization included into its fold all the administrative services, this being not done by any subdivisions into military, financial and executive systems. Military duties were nearly always superimposed upon the Mansabdars according to their ranks of Suwar[67]. Separate divisions had to be formed in the administrative set-up with the posts of the faujdar who was in charge of the military and civil affairs, the diwan who was in charge of finance, the kotwal who did police duties, and so on[68]. Thus, the position held by the Mansabdars required them to perform different types of duties. As such, though for just name-sake, there existed no difference between the civil and military functions of the Mansabdars, yet as a matter of fact, civil (Revenue) and military duties were very often

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66. N.Manucci, op.cit. Vol.III. P.89
67. Ibid, Vol.IV. P.108
68. Peter Mundy, op.cit., Vol.II. PP.62-66

given to different perwons who had an apt knowledge and training and experience in that particular field[69]. As such, nobles like Jai Singh, Dalpat Bundela, etc. were always given military duties to perform and were never assigned financial or revenue duties[70]. There were some nobles who were always assigned financial and executive duties such as Raja Raghunath, Fazil Khan, and so on[71]. However, there are also examples of the same mansabdars serving in different departments at alternative times. For example, Amanant Khan, the diwan of Bijapur ~~and~~ served as Commandant of Aurangabad[72].

The Mughal judiciary was on the whole a separate institution because the functions required a specific academic training. Thus the judicial officers such as the Qazis and the Sadrs could only expect and get suitable careers in a single branch alone[73]. Several Mughal nobles such as Syed Jalal Khan, Abdul Wahab, etc. served as judicial in character[74]. The judicial nobility was never

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69. J.B.Tavernier, op.cit. Vol.I, PP.97-98
70. Shah Nawaz Khan, Maasir-al-Umara. Patna, 1888, Vol.III, PP.447-51
71. Ibid, Vol.II, PP.49-52
72. Ibid, Vol.I, P.288
73. N.Manucci, op.cit. Vol.I. P.119
74. Shah Nawaz Khan, op.cit. Vol.III. PP.447-51

assigned any financial and executive duties because the Mughal government thought it wisely to refrain their administrative ambitions. The Mughal judiciary was not entirely an independent institution, but upto a great extent it exercised its power as a restraint upon the tyrannical attitudes and practices of the executive[75]. In the same spirit, the Mughal administrators and the nobility always considered the judiciary to be an independent and separate institution, which had nothing to do with the country's administration in the normal times[76]. If the judiciary ever interferred in administrative affairs, then the nobles let out their resentment, for example the powerful Mughal noble Mahabat Khan had several times protested against the increase in power of the Qazis and judges in the Mughal empire[77]. Theoretically, a Mansabdar after accepting the charge of the mansab became a sort of a slave of the emperor. His duties passed over from just supplying the necessary contingents or fulfilling other obligational requirements from his personal rank and status[78]. Practically, he could be assigned to any office, even withot receiving the specific salary attached to the mode and

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75. Syjan Rai Bhandari, Khulasat-ut Tawarikh, ed. Zafar Hasan, Delhi, 1918, P.72
76. Ibid, P.73
77. Ibid, P.75
78. P. Mundy, op.cit. Vol.I. PP.86-87

status of the post and work assigned to him. In fact, his personal emolument covered everything, and if the said Mansabdar failed to satisfy the emperor's wish by neglecting his duty, then in such a case, his allowance was not reduced but his Mansab rank and status were reduced[79]. Definite rules, in course of time, were developed to form a relationship between any post and rank held by the mansabdar assigned to that particular post. There existed three important executive posts in the provinces. First, the Nazim or Subedar or Governor, the Faujdar, and thirdly the Thanedar[80]. Nobles of the rank of 2500 to 7000 were made governors generally[81]. For the post of the faujdar, normally mansabdars of the ranks of in-between 500 to 5000 were appointed, and the charges or duties of the faujdar varied considerably[82]. Some faujdaris were assigned to the local noble elements, such as the jagirdars. In some faujdaris in every province, the charge of governing them was given to a subedar who governed it through a deputy and appointed a man of his own choice for its administration and made him responsible for governing it[83]. In the matter of administrative

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79. Ibid, P.97
80. Yusuf Mirak, Mazhar-i-Shahjahani. Vol.II. Karachi,1961, P.22-25
81. Ibid, P.32
82. Ibid, P.37
83. J.N.Sarkar, Mughal administration, Calcutta,1920,PP.63-67

charges, the post of the faujdar was immediately succeeded by that of the thanedar. The exact character and functions of the thanedar and the limits and boundaries of the control exercised over the thanedars by the local faujdars, during the Mughal empire is not clear[84]. Some thanedaris during the Mughal empire were so important that nobles of very high ranks alone were appointed for those posts[85]. Generally, those nobles who were in the rank of 200 and above, were appointed as thanedars[86]. In the administrative and financial spheres, the post of Diwan, Mir Bakshi, Second Bakshi, Third Bakshi, and so on were important[87]. The post of the Central Diwan was the most crucial one and eminent nobles such as Wazir Khan were appointed to it[88]. The post of Mir Bakshi was also very important and it was given to first-ranking nobles such as Bahramand Khan[89]. To the posts of Second and Third Bakshi, only nobles of second strata were appointed[90]. The Mughal nobles, thus were given different offices in different departments, and they were

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84. V.A. Smith, op.cit. P.91
85. P.Mundy, op.cit, Vol.I. P.72
86. Ibid, P.74
87. Munshi Nand Ram Kayasth Srivastava, Siyaq Nama, Lucknow, 1879, P.34-37
88. Ibid, P.41
89. M.H.Khafi Khan, op.cit, Vol.II, P.407
90. Shah Nawaz Khan, op.cit, Vol.I, P.311

sent to any province on any pretext or assignment which the Mughal emperors thought as essential. Throughout the life-span of the Mughal empire, numerous nobles were transferred to all parts of the empire, with the result that all the Mughal nobles had at one time or other, served in almost all variant regions of the empire[91].

Thus, a deep relationship existed between the Mansabdari system and the administrative system of the Mughal empire. The Mansabdari institution comprised the civil, financial and military services, leaving aside the judiciary, because any Mansabdar had some military obligation though he could be assigned to do any administrative job. And whereas the Mansab held by any noble and the actual post assigned to him were indirectly related, a general relationship existed between the two[92]. The Mughal Mansabdars were truly speaking the governing class of the empire, and were different from the European nobility of seventeenth century which had been pushed out of the administrative services[93]. The Mughal nobility had an important role to play in the Mughal administrative set-up and it maintained

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91. J.N.Sarkar, Mughal administration, Calcutta,1920, P.106
92. Ibid, P.124
93. Ibid, P.131

its inner cohesion by the system of constant transfers, and it can be maintained that the Mughal nobility was a truly national and an all India body.

The Mughal nobles' conduct in the administrative set-up of the Mughal empire may also be examined. The Mughal nobility was in itself always combining the roles of an aristocracy and that of a bureaucratic organization[94]. Thus, the Mughal nobility's role as a bureaucracy must be examined. The Mughal nobles' conduct was always subjected to the control and influence of the emperors, who used to promote them, demote them, depose them, and reward and punish them according to their own discretion and according to the exigencies of the times[95]. But in its own turn, the imperial policy in governing this control and influence was largely influenced by the premises of the object of the governance of the Mughal state. Though the objective of national construction was lacking, yet the maintainance of law and order and the relief in times of general distress was present at all times in the policies of the Mughal government. Much emphasis was put on the mystic or religious sensibilities, in conjunction to the idea of sulh-i-kul

94. *Ibid*, P.87
95. *Ibid*, P.62

of during Akbar down to the Shariat of Aurangzeb[96]. Thus the Mughal imperial government played the role of morality, at least theoretically, if not practically, in all its fields of activities. The wholesale attention of the state was drawn towards increasing its income, augmenting its military resources, and maintaining day-to-day administration on an efficient basis[97]. The Mughal nobles were demoted because of disobedience to the emperor's orders, not discharging functions upto the satisfaction of the emperor, and not maintaining in full the required rank of contingent, infringement upon the royal prerogative, maintaining connections with the enemies, sympathizing with the rebels, and showing cowardice in any military action[98]. Another very important set of rules was as regards the immoral activities indulged upon by the nobles, such as drinking etc., which brought about reduction in their ranks. Tyrannical behaviour, maladministration, murder, theft, etc., also brought about severe punishments[99]. But during the later Mughal period, leniency by the Mughal emperors, was to be seen in such cases. Thus followed the abolishion of many illegal taxes on merchants and peasants, bringing up a situation wherein due

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96. J.N.Sarkar, Studies in Aurangzeb's reign, (Calcutta,1933) PP.91-93
97. J.N.Sarkar, Mughal administration, (Calcutta,1920), PP.32-33
98. Ibid, PP.52-56
99. M.H.Khafi Khan, op.cit., Vol.II, PP.275-78

to the lack of any stringent imperial control, the noble's personal conscience was alone important[100]. But the nobles had no conscience, as is evidenced by the fact that bribery was widely prevalent throughout the Mughal empire, and the Mughal nobles justified themselves by taking and giving bribes[101]. The Mughal nobles used to aim for presents and gifts for doing anything, even for acts done under imperial orders or in accordance with the specified duties of their posts[102]. The European traveller Niccolao Manucci writes that the faujdars and governors turned out from houses, lands and villages, the people to whom these had been given by the imperial farmans unless and until they gave to them gifts and presents[103]. Thus, in the Mughal empire, it was through bribery that the masses could gain the attention of the administrators either for their personal protection or for someone's destruction. A more severe direct attention was taken by the administration in cases and instances of

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100. Charles Fawcett, ed, English factories in India, 1661-64, Oxford, 1936, P.203-05

101. Ibid, P.204

102. Ibid, P.204

103. N. Manucci, op.cit. Vol.III. P.232

embezzlement, because, here, the central treasury was directly affected[104]. Thus the Mughal nobility was extremely short-sighted, as they had personal gains in their minds and not national reconstruction or the interests of state in mind. As such, the civil administration, the military administration, and the diplomatic administration all collapsed systematically, leading to the inevitable downfall of the Mughal empire after 1707.

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104. Charles Fawcett, op.cit., 1670-77, P.267

CHAPTER VI

ECONOMIC ORGANISATION OF NOBILITY

The nobility during the Mughal period was in a position of access where it could receive rich and heavy income from various quarters. The life-style of the nobility of this period was indeed luxurious. The nobility of this period had accummulated rich dividends economically. To gain respect from their contemporaries and their emperors, the Mughal nobles indulged in heavy monetary expenses[1]. The Mughal emperors had a first hand knowledge of the individual wealth of their nobles. And so, the nobles did not shy away from spending, not being able to save anything[2]. During the Mughal times, the higher ranks of the imperial services were highly remunerative, when compared to the higher ranks of state services in India during the British period or independent India, or any place in the world in the same periods[3]. During the Mughal times, no other career in India could carry with it such monetary attractions[4]. This is why, a career in the higher imperial services,

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1. J.N. Sarkar, Mughal administration, Calcutta, 1920, P.79
2. Ibid, P.80
3. W.H.Moreland, India at the death of Akbar, Delhi, 1974, P.70
4. Ibid, P.70

attracted the most talented men from all over western and central Asia, and brought them to the fore of Mughal nobility[5]. It was a common activity among the Mughal nobility to indulge in trade and commerce. They traded with merchants from as far_as Hormuz, Phillipines, Mocha, Bantam, Achin, and Bassora[6]. A hugh quantity of money passed through the Mughal nobles' activities in trade and commerce of that time.

Shahjahan's commander-in-chief, Asaf Khan, who held the rank of 9000/9000, enjoyed a total salary of 16 crores and 20 lakhs dams. After paying the salary of his troops, he pocketed an income of nearly 50 lakhs of rupees. At Lahore he built a costly palace for himself from a capital of 20 lakhs of rupees and lived there lavishly. Upon his death, he left a treasure of more than 2 crores and fifty lakhs of rupees. This huge treasure consisted of precious stones of 30 lakhs, gold mohurs of 42 lakhs, gold and silver utensils of 30 lakhs, and one crore and 25 lakhs of rupees in cash[7]. Another Mughal noble, Muhammad Khan had

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5. *Ibid*, P.71
6. J.B.Tavernier, *Travels in India*, 1640-67, London, 1889, V.I, P.37
7. Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Badshah-Nama*, Calcutta, 1867-68, PP.68-69

amassed a treasure over ten crores of rupees[8]. The personal treasure of Shahjahan's noble, Ali Mardan Khan amounted to 30 lakhs of rupees[9]. However, very few among the Mughal nobles could save from their fortunes because of their extravagant ways and means of living. The minimal cost of the necessities of life as it was during the Mughal times, encouraged and helped the Mughal nobles to save and in turn spend on the various luxuries in which they indulged in. Moreover, they always dreaded that after death, their property would be confiscated by the state, and so they never really opted to save their money. Thus, the Mughal nobles, besides spending, often landed themselves into heavy debts[10]. Thus there were few Mughal nobles, who were actually rich, but a large number among them consisted of those who were living in debt down to their knees[11]. The rich presents handed over by the Mughal nobles to the Mughal emperors all through their carêer, and the expensive households they maintained proved to be suicidal for them in the end[12]. The establishments of the Mughal nobility were the miniatures of the royal household. Thus it was natural that the resources

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8. Abdul Qadir Badayuni, Muntakhat-ut-tawarikh, (Calcutta, 1924), Vol. II, P.341
9. Muhammad Salih Kambo, Amal-i-Salih, (Calcutta, 1923-46), P.124
10. Francois Bernier, Travels in the Mogul empire, (Delhi, 1968), P.213
11. Ibid, P.214
12. Ibid, P.215

of the Mughal nobles often became exhausted, and the nobles began to extract money from the general people in order to maintain the extravagant ways of their living. The extravagance of the Mughal nobility had a different effect on the general economic situation in the land[13]. The people belonging to the weaker sections of the state, especially those in ordinary state services, developed an inferiority complex and started to ape the living style of the Mughal nobility[14]. The Mughal nobles lived in pomp and splendour. Each noble had in his employ hundreds of attendants. Whenever any Mughal noble came out into the streets of the towns and cities they had a large following of servants and slaves[15]. A noble never walked in the streets alone, without anybody to attend_upon them. It became a sort of well-practised custom[16]. A Mughal noble maintained a horde of horses and elephants according to the requirements of their dignity.[17] All the large establishments of the Mughal nobles must have meant a huge amount of money even though the wages of the servants and slaves were low and the living very cheap when compared to the modern times[18]. The stables of

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13. Ibid, P.210
14. Ibid, P.82
15. J.N.Sarkar, op.cit, P.71
16. Ibid, P.72
17. Ibid, P.99
18. Ibid, P.98

a Mughal noble were an essential part of his establishment, and the life at a camp was more expensive and extravagant than the life at the capital city[19]. The Mughal emperors always travelled in extreme luxury and comfort. This precedence exemplified by the imperial camp was followed upon by the Mughal nobles[20]. The nobles competed each other in matters of the sizes of their tents and the overall impact of their extravagance and splendour. The tents of the nobles were designed by brocade and velveteen. They were lined with tafetta and damask, and also gold linings[21]. The Mughal nobles spent a large part of their income in purchasing jewellery. They thus purchased gold, silver and precious stones in huge quantity[22]. A large portion of the jewellery as possessed by the Mughal nobles ultimately mingled up with the imperial treasury because of the Mughal nobles' habit of handing over presents to the Mughal emperors[23]. The Mughal nobles also spent fortunes on palacial buildings. Babur started to build a palace in Agra, he asked the nobility to follow his example, and they in return followed his wish[24]. Following Akbar who built the palatial complex

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19. <u>Ibid</u>, P.99
20. <u>Ibid</u>, P.72
21. <u>Ibid</u>, P.75
22. <u>Ibid</u>, P.77
23. Ibid, P.78
24. Zahiruddin Babur, <u>Babur Nama</u>, Delhi, 1970, P.47

at Fateh Pur Sikri, his nobles built many costly palaces and towers[25]. After Akbar laid the foundation of the fortress at Fateh Pur Sikri, he asked his nobles to build lofty palaces in and around the holy city. He also asked them to dig out a big tank in the neighbourhood[26]. The nobles of the Mughal times also spent enormously on their dresses and ward-robes. The dresses were all of very costly materials and their types and fashions were many[27]. But the Mughal nobles, as soon as they reached a status, they were provided with enough means to lead the life-style according to their ranks[28]. The Mughal emperors did not tolerate nobles who were not properly dressed up before coming before his august presence[29]. Besides his opportunate salary, the Mughal noble also had several other means to increase his income[30]. To win over the favours of the emperors, it was necessary for the Mughal nobles to exibits proper and exuberant splendour. As such, the Mughal court was unparellel in splendour and magnificence in all the countries[31].

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25. A.Q.Badayuni, op.cit, Vol.II, P.112
26. Ibid, P.137
27. Muhd. Qasim Shah Firishta, Tarikh-i-Firishta, Bombay, 1832, PP.44-45
28. A.Q.Badayuni, op.cit, P.205
29. Ibid, P.155
30. W.H.Moreland, From Akbar to Aurangzeb, Delhi, 1972, P.293
31. Ibid, P.132

But it may also be stated that all this fortune of the Mughal nobility could be finally appropriated by the state government. The Mughal noble's jagir was not his landed estate or his territorial hereditary possession even durihg his life-time, not to speak of the situation after his death[32]. Those estates which were comparitively bigger in size possessed both civil and criminal jurisdictions but unhereditary[33]. The nobles exercised only those rights over the land, which were a part of the government and which in turn had given him such powers. For example, the power of realising that amount which was the share of the government as the produce was[34]. The nobles who held jagir and were thus termed as jagirdars, were government officials. As such, they could be removed from their jagirs on the pleasure and discretion of the emperor[35]. The Mughal nobles could not ever act against the wishes of the emperor because recalcitrant tendencies were forcibly curbed down by the emperors. And then they could only remain in obscurity for the rest of their lives[36]. It were the Hindu

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32. A.Q.Badayuni, op.cit, PP.106-08
33. Ibid, P.107
34. N.A.Siddiqui, Land-revenue administration under the Mughals, Bombay, 1970, PP.139-40
35. Ibid, P.142
36. S.A.A. Rizvi, "The Mughal elite in the sixteenth and seventeenth century", Abr-Nahrain, 1971,PP.82-85

chieftains alone, who had the full possession of their lands since ages, who were independent of the imperial control for a great limit. Because, even they had to submit unwittingly upto a more formidable political force[37]. The theory and practice of the state control over land gave rise to many evils and proved to be disastrous for the society's development[38]. The unlimited nature of the emperor's demands in land, and its frequency were both to be criticized[39]. The European traveller, Francois Bernier, relates the pathetic condition of the land during the Mughal times to the lack of proprietary rights among the Mughal nobles;

> "From what I have said, a question will naturally arise, whether it would not be more advantageous for the king as well as for the people, if the former ceased to be sole possessor of the land, and the right of private property were recognized in the Indies as it is with us. I have carefully compared the condition of European states, where that right is acknowledged, with the condition of those

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37. Ibid, PP.92-93
38. N.A. Siddiqui, op.cit, P.89
39. Ibid, P.93

countries where it is not known, and am persuaded that the absence of it among the people is injurious to the best interests of the sovereign himself"[40].

As regards the extreme high standard of life of the Mughal nobles and its economic aspect, Francois Bernier writes;

"They maintain the splendour of the court, and are never seen out-of-doors but in the most superb apparel; mounted sometimes on an elephant, sometimes on horse-back, and not infrequently in a Palkey attended by many of their cavalry, and by a large body of servants on foot, who take their station in front, and at either side of their lord, not only to clear the way, but to flap the flies and brush off the dust with tails of peacocks; to carry the picquedent or spittoon, water to allay the Omrah's thirst, and sometimes account-books, and other papers"[41].

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40. F. Bernier, <u>op.cit</u>, P.226
41. <u>Ibid</u>, PP.213-14

On some occasions, the nobles obtained permission from the emperor to carry along a part of their fortune to his home in a foreign country, or to the Muslim holy places of pilgrimage such as Arabia[42]. But such occassions were few and far-between. The emperor usually gave such permission if he was eager to remove any noble out of the country on political consideration[43]. It was a beneficial measure, as all the wealth of the nobles remained in India and was ultimately distributed among the poorer sections of the society[44]. Due to these very reasons the Mughal nobles did not strive to accummulate and save but on the contrary believed in spending[45]. The nobles believed in, and practised the dictum that the greater pomp and splendour they would exibitt, the greater would be their influence among the lesser nobles as well as the emperor himself[46]. Many nobles indulged in gambling and other such side-sports[47]. According to the European traveller, John De Laet, the opulence of the Mughal nobles was very difficult to describe, because their only concern in life and times was to secure each kind of pleasure that was possible in human life[48].

42. Ibid, P.52
43. Ibid, P.54
44. Ibid, P.55
45. Ibid, P.62
46. M.A.Ansari,"Some aspects of the social life at the court of the great Mughals" Islamic Culture, 1962 July, P.187
47. Ibid, P.188
48. John De Laet, The empire of the great Mogol, Bombay, 1928, P.90

The Mughal nobility was not a landed class as was the European nobility during the medieval times. The revenue assignments or jagirs of the Mughal nobles were always transferable. Many of the Mughal nobles were as a matter of fact Naqdis which meant that they got their salaries directly from the central treasury and that also in the form of cash-salary[49]. Thus we can maintain that the Mughal nobles did not comprise a class of hereditary landlords. But it can be also maintained that they were either not a commercial ruling body[50]. Their chief aim in life was to receive salaries, and they did not depend upon commercial gains. The British nobility contemporary to the Mughal nobility, belonged to the middle class of merchants. But this was not the case with the Mughal nobility[51]. There are but a rare examples of Mughal nobles rising from the class of mercantiles. Mir Jumla,for one, can be cited for example, as a merchant turning into a political figure during the latter part of the Mughal rule[52]. The European

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49. Ibid, P.92
50. Ibid, P.93
51. Niccolao Manucci, Storia Do Mogor, Vol.I, London, 1707-8, P.65
52. Ibid, P.70

traveller, Niccolao Manucci, speaking of the Pathans, says that they indulged in war and commerce simultaneously, and so when they became courtiers, they considered it as an investment of their business-mindedness[53]. Nurullah Khan was a prominent noble of the later Mughal period and he was originally a merchant[54]. As belonging to the higher echelons of the governing class, the Mughal nobility could not bereave themselves from participating in commercial transactions[55]. If they held revenue assignments or jagirs, or if they received pay in form of cash, they derived their income only in the form of cash[56]. The revenue from the jagirs was also collected in the form of cash. This is why the Mughal nobility amounted enormous treasures of cash and assets[57]. Because of easy flow of cash from their hands, the Mughal nobles desired to increase it more so by indulging in trade directly or indirectly by allowing capital as advances to the already well-established merchants[58]. It were the Mughal nobility which provided the biggest capital amounts for sea-trade during the Mughal

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53. Ibid, Vol.II, P.453
54. Ghulam Husain, Riyaz-us-Salatin, Bib.Ind. 1890, P.224
55. M.A.Ansari, op.cit, P.189
56. N.A.Siddiqui, op.cit, P.52
57. Ibid, P.63
58. Ibid, P.68

period[59]. The European traveller, Jean Baptiste Tavernier, states;

> "On arrival for embarkation at Surat, you find plenty of money. For it is the principal trade of the nobles of India to place their money on vessels on speculation for Hormuz, Bassora, and Mocha, and even for Bantam, Achin, and Phillipenes"[60].

The important Mughal noble, Mir Jumla, provides the most apt example of the Mughal nobility's dealings with the commerce of their times. Mir Jumla had regular contacts with the English merchants as is evident from the following passage;

> "The Nobob's money wee positively enorder, without, disputing or pretences, to be paid by Mr. Trevisa back, and that accompt cleared; and that for the future none undertake such an unthankful and trespassing part of service. His ship wee shall endeavour to recover, and hope in March next to give you certain advice of our proceedings therein"[61]

59. Ibid, P.70
60. J.B.Tavernier, op.cit, Vol.I, P.31
61. Sir Charles Fawcett, The English factories in India, 161-164, Oxford, 1936, P.68.

Mir Jumla, on several occasions, advanced money to the English merchants as is clearly seen from this passage;

> "In the meanwhile Charnock and Sheldon were peremptorily ordered to give respect and accompt of their actions unto Mr. Trevisa. The latter was urged to repay the money lent to him by Mir Jumla and was again reminded of the necessity of a large supply of saltpetre"[62].

Mir Jumla's ships sailed as far as to Persia, Arakkans and to the southern Indian peninsula[63]. He was very much interested in trading with Persia as is evidenced from this passage;

> "You (Chamber) will perceive by the coppy of our generall consultation that we have condescended and agreed, for the preservation of the Nobob's amity, that now the junk cannot be restored, he may take his choice either of the Anne, with all her ammunition

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62. Ibid, P. 153
63. Yusuf Husain Khan, (ed), Selected Waqai of the Deccan, 1660-71, Haiderabad, 1953, No.2, 1702. A.H.

and stores or of your new built shipp.
But this year you must not seem that
we do any way condescend to, so that
it may come to his knowledge, for you
know the Nobob is five times more
indebted to us, by his accompt; besides
he doth yearely make us as this last
yeare with twenty five tonns of
gumlacke whereof he pays noe freight
nor costume in Persia"[64].

Apart from the external trade, the Mughal nobles were also interested in trade within the country itself, and that also up to some greater extent[65]. They used their position and influence in this regard. One Mughal emperor had even to order the officials in Gujarat to look into commercial exchanges which were concerning the Mughal nobles who were making large profits due to them[66]. The important Mughal nobleman, Shaista Khan, was thoroughly involved in internal trade in India[67]. This particular noble had

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64. Sir Charles Fawcett, op.cit, PP.148-49
65. W.H. Moreland, op.cit, P.87
66. Ali Muhammad Khan, Mirat-i-Ahmadi, V-1. Baroda, 1927-28, PP.286-88
67. Ibid, P.109

thoroughly monopolised Bengal's internal trade. We may quote an important source in this regard;

> "Shaista Khan used to import by ship, salt, suparior betelnuts and other articles, and sold them in Bengal on profitable terms. In addition, he accummulated seventeen crores of rupees by procuring two or three tolas of gold for one gold mohur. He also sold salt and supari to the merchants and traders in the city of Dacca. The latter were thus debarred from making purchases and sales on their own account"[68]. Shaista Khan had formed huge "emporiums of salt worth 152,000 rupees at several places"[69].

Again,

> "The Nobob's (Shaista Khan) officers oppress the people, monopolize most commodities, even as low as grass for

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68. S.K.Bhuyan, Annals of the-Delhi Badshahat, Gauhati, 1947, PP.167-68

69. Ibid, PP.169 and 172

beasts, caves, firewood, thatch, etc, nor do they want ways to oppress those people of all sorts who trade, whether natives or strangers"[70].

It has been stated that,

"Shaista Khan's intentions were: to get the whole trade of peeter (saltpetre) into his own hands, and so to sell it againe to us and the Dutch at his own rates, he well knowing the ships cannot goe from the Bay empty. But he is not likely to get above Maunds 4 or 5,000 this year. His darogha hath so abused the merchants that they are allmost all runne away. He pretends that all the peeter he buyes is for the king. It was never known he had occasion of more than Maunds 1000 or 1500 yearely for all his warrs"[71].

Thus Shaista Khan wanted to make out commercial profits by any means. During the last days of emperor Aurangzeb, Prince Azimushshan was found to be forcing the

70. Streynsham Master, The diaries of Streynsham Master, London, 1911, Vol.I, P.80

71. Sir Charless Fawcett, op.cit, PP.395-96

purchase of goods for his individual trade purposes. His father stringently criticized all this[72]. The Mughal nobles were very much interested in trading in luxurious items such as jewels. Shaista Khan entered into transactions with the French traveller, Jean Baptiste Tavernier, for jewels for which J.B.Tavernier went to Europe in 1654[73]. The French traveller writes that the Indians were very particular in trade matters and obeyed their debts without delay[74]. Shaista Khan purchased from him items of 96000 rupees in 1652, in 1660 he once again purchased a few things from J.B. Tavernier, and again in 1666 he again purchased some luxury items[75]. Shaista Khan implored J.B.Tavernier for getting costly jewels for which he would be liberal in payment, as liberal as the emperor himself[76]. The Mughal emperors themselves purchased jewels through employing the nobles for the work of purchase[77]. Once Shaista Khan sent nearly one hundred pearls to the emperor but as their prices were very high they were

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72. Ghulam Husain, Riyaz-us-Salatin, Bib.Ind, 1890, PP.243-44
73. J.B.Tavernier, op.cit, Vol.I, PP.320-22
74. Ibid, P.326
75. Ibid, PP.15-16
76. Ibid, P.245
77. Ibid, P.156

returned back to him again[78]. When Aurangzeb was a prince, Shaista Khan had sent him some jewels which had interested the prince very much[79].

The Mughal nobility's serious interest in luxurious items, and for providing various articles and things made according to their tastes, the Mughal nobles established Karkhanas or workshops[80]. These Karkhanas were established for manufacturing utensils, costly clothes, furniture, armaments, etc, and they employed a big number of artisans[81]. The Karkhanas were usually kept by the Mughal emperor, princes, and the nobles. But during the seventeenth century, karkhanas were also maintained by the foreign trading companies[82]. Many traders also maintained individual karkhanas. The nature of working of these karkhanas, especially, the attitude of the Mughal nobility towards the ordinary but skilled artisans employed in these karkhanas is well illustrated by the European traveller Francois Bernier as follows:

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78. Aurangzeb, Adab-i-Alamgiri, M.S.,K.P.Jaiswal Institute, Patna, f.113a.
79. Ibid, f. 113 a-b
80. Sidhari Lal, Tuhfa-i-Shah Jahani, M.S. K.B.K.O. Library, Patna, P.42
81. Ibid, P.44
82. F.Bernier, op.cit, PP.254-56

"Workshops, occupied by skilful artisans, would be vainly sought for in Delhi, which has very little to boast of in that respect. This is not owing to any inability in the people to cultivate the arts, for there are ingenious men in every part of the Indies. Numerous are the instances of handsome pieces of workmanship made by persons destitute of tools, and who can scarcely be said to have received instructions from a Master. The rich will have every article at cheap rate. When an Omrah or mansabdar requires the services of an artisan, he sends to the bazar for him, employing force, if necessary, to make the poor man work; and after the task is finished the unfeeling lord pays, not according to the value of labour but agreably to his own standard of fair remuneration; the artisans having reason to congratulate himself if the Korah(whip) has not been given in part payment. The artists, therefore, who arrive at any eminence in their art are those only who are in the service of the king or some powerful Omrah, and who work exclusively for their patron"[83].

83. F.Bernier, <u>op.cit</u>, PP.254-56

The Mughal noble Bakhtawar Khan was very proud of the fact that he had established many karkhanas in many towns of the Mughal empire. Alongwith his houses and palaces, he had established these karkhanas in Delhi, Lahore, Burhanpur, and Agra[84]. Another Mughal noble, Shujat Khan had also established several karkhanas. The articles produced in his karkhanas, such as plates, cups, vessels, etc. were very much appreciated by the Mughal emperors to whom and to other nobles Shujat Khan sent these articles as presents[85].

Besides the Mughal nobility, the emperors and their offsprings also indulged in maintaining their individual karkhanas so as to be able to cater for their personal needs[86]. During Shahjahan's time, due to the lack of many skilled artisans, the products of the imperial karkhanas especially of his daughter Jahan Ara's were becoming lesser and lesser[87]. Emperor Aurangzeb could not appreciate the products of his personal karkhana[88]. Princess Jahan Ara's karkhana's management was not altered and it went on producing articles for her for a long time[89].

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84. Shaikh Muhammad Baqa, Mirat-al-Alam, K.B.K.O. Library Patna, f. 253
85. Saqi Mustaid Khan, Maasir-i-Alamgiri, Calcutta, 1871, PP.205-06
86. Abdul Baqi Nihawandi, Maasir-i-Rahimi, Bib. Ind. 1910-31, P.36
87. Aurangzeb, Adab-i-Alamgiri, M.S.K.B.K.O. Library, Patna, f.31
88. Ibid, f.25
89. Ibid, f. 196

The Mughal nobility's indulgence in trade and commerce was not by all means an honest one. In fact, they usually restricted the free trade so as to increase their own monetary gains. They did this by using the abuse of their influence and power[90]. They took heavy bribes in order to give out the trade privileges to the traders[91]. The French traders, in order to obtain the royal order or farman for the purpose of trade, had to give 30000 rupees to the Mughal emperors[92]. Jafar Khan was given 10000 rupees and a few other important nobles also received the same amount of bribe[93]. It was only after these payments upon the French traders that they were able to receive the royal insignia for trade, to establish their headquarters at Surat in Gujarat. But they had to pay a duty of two per cent on all their goods in trade[94]. During the seventeenth century, Mir Jumla restricted the English trade at Kasimbazar in Bengal, on the condition that presents be offered to him[95]. He then asked the English to present him with 20000 pagodas and to not consider anymore the 32000 pagodas he himself

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90. A.B. Nihawandi, op.cit, P.54
91. Ibid, P.56
92. Sir Charless Fawcett, op.cit, 1665-67, P.281
93. Ibid, P.281
94. Ibid, P.281
95. Ibid, 1655-60, PP.292-93

owed to the English[96]. As the subedar of Bengal, he had exempted the English from paying customs duty because he received from them 3000 rupees per year[97]. The European traveller, Jean Baptiste Tavernier states in this regard as follows:

> "So true it is that those who desire to do business at the court of the princes, in Turkey as well as in Persia and India, should not attempt to commence anything unless they had considerable presents ready prepared and almost always an open purse for diverse officers of trust whose service they have need"[98].

When a Mughal emperor died or even when subedars were transferred or changed, the traders had always to pay highly to the new incumbents in order to get the farmans and parwanas renewed again[99]. For example, upon Mir Jumla's death, the English traders had to undergo many hardships in order to get renewed their parwana from the new incumbent Daud Khan[100]. Once Shaista Khan insisted

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96. Ibid, PP.391-92
97. Ibid, PP.393-94
98. J.B. Tavernier, op.cit, Vol.I, P.115
99. Sir Charles Fawcett, op.cit, 1655-60, PP.197-98
100. Ibid, 1661-64, P.288

upon having paid to him rupees 3000 whether or not the English traders were indulging in any trade transactions at the moment or not;

> "Though wee have at present little or noe business of our masters to manage, yet wee are not free from trouble under Nobob's government. 'Tis credibly reported that Ballassre and Piply by the King's order is reduced and brought under the province of Bengall, which wee cannot but lament, especially at this time, it falling under the power of a person most unjust and sobly addicted to covetiousness. We must fear the yearely present of this place Rs.3,000 will be axacted, though wee may have noe shipp arrive, the rent and custome of this town (Hugli) being his jageer"[101].

The Mughal nobles terribly hampered the growth and development of trade and commerce by their adopted measures of illegal taxes and impositions of several

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101. Ibid, 1665-67, PP.258-59

kinds[102]. For example the Mughal jagirdars were, under imperial orders, not to realize taxes such as rahdari (road taxes) mahi, (taxes on fishermen on bringing fishes for sale in market) Mallahi,(taxes on merchants and traders at the ferries or boats) tarkari, (tax on vegetables brought by farmers to markets) tahbazari (ground rent imposed on shop-keepers); these taxes being abolished so far as the merchants and traders were concerned[103]. Furthermore, the jagirdars were not supposed to buy grains at a low price and to sell it at a higher price[104]. They were directed by the empire not to accept any peshkash offered by the dealers in grains, and other merchants and traders[105]. It was an imperial order not to direct illegal impositions on those people who indulged in business, but the nobles did not refrain themselves from acting as such[106]. Although land-revenue was the major source of income of the Mughal nobility, nevertheless it took advantage of its position and indulged in trade and commerce for higher economic gains[107]. Commercial profits was a thing in which every member of the royal family and

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102. Ibid, 1664-65, P.132
103. Ali Muhammad Khan, op.cit, Vol.I, PP.286-88
104. Ibid, Vol.II, P.187
105. Ibid, Vol.II, P.84
106. Ibid, Vol.I, P.288
107. N.A. Siddiqui, op.cit, P.146

even wives of the Mughal emperors indulged upon[108]. Though the exploitation of their influential position was to be seen throughout the Mughal period, by its nobility, but it is also true that the Mughal state interfered increasingly in economic affairs[109]. Though income from land-revenue was not definite and certain, but the resources and investments of the Mughal nobility were immence and this is why they invested money in trade and commerce[110]. Individual consumption and procurement of things being high, the Mughal nobles proved to be a hindrance in trade and commerce rather than a help for these[111]. Thus new methods of production remained in vouge, because the nobility could not think anything beyond the karkhana establishments catering for their own individual requirements[112].

The Mughal nobles received revenue-assignments or jagirs on a very large and distributive basis. As such, they had to depend largely on the revenue only and if it was collected or realized for their income[113]. They often

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108. _Ibid._ P.102
109. Sujan Rai Bhandari, _Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh_, Delhi, 1918, P.93
110. N.A. Siddiqui, _op.cit_, P.46
111. Surendra Gopal, _Commerce and crafts in Gujerat_, Delhi, 1975, P.103
112. Ibid, P.111
113. N.A. Siddiqui, _op.cit_, P.51

let out their jagirs on the system of ijara[114]. Thus they were able to get an amount of their stipulated income from the land-revenue beforehand[115]. Another very general practice of theirs was to get loans against the standing jagir[116]. But generally it was not because of the jagirdari system that they had to take and borrow money. Their extravagant expenses were actually behind their practice of borrowing loans[117]. On a few occassions, such as sudden transfers, or suddenly joining some military expedition, they had to suffer financial hardships[118]. Thus the Mughal nobles always practiced the policy of leaving a part of their salaries in the jagirs itself, because due to this policy they always stood in way of having loans against their jagirs[119]. The interests on loans at that time were extremely high, and those who lent money were very strict about the interests on loans they extended[120]. Around 1645, as is evidenced from the English Factory records, the shroffs or money lenders of Agra city ran a lucrative trade of extending loans to the Mughal nobles on extra higher

114. Ibid, P.69
115. Ibid, P.74
116. Ibid, P.99
117. Peter Mundij, Travels in Asia, London, 1914, Vol.III, P.67
118. Ibid, P.72
119. N.A. Siddiqui, op.cit, P.81
120. Peter Mundij, op.cit, Vol.IV, P.44

rates of interest[121]. During the fortysixth regnal year of Aurangzeb's reign, several money-lenders protested to the emperor against the imperial demand of loan with no interest, and said that such a loan would become news in the outlying provinces of the empire so much so that the provincial governors would also then demand for interest free loans which would ultimately ruin the sahukars or the money-lenders[122]. During the Mughal times money-lending had become such a profitable commercial enterprise that the Mughal nobles also began indulging in it, for we have the instance of the Mughal noble Shaista Khan who lent out a loan of 300000 rupees at a yearly 25% interest to his lesser official the Faujdar of Hugli[123]. Though money-lending is prohibitted by the Quran-sharif, yet the Mughal rulers and the Mughal government practiced it and lent out loans to the Mughal nobility on a well-practised scale for the benefit of gains through interests[124]. In order to cooperate with the Mughal nobles who used to borrow loans at high interest rates, Emperor Akbar started the institution of a state loan paid out of the imperial

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121. Sir Charles Fawcett, op.cit, 1642-1645, P.302
122. Shah Nawaz Khan, Maasir-al-Umara, Vol.II, Patna, 1888, P.69
123. Ibid, Vol.II, P.70
124. P.Saran, The provincial government of the Mughals, Allahabad, 1941, P.96

treasury called Musadat[125]. This institution was started to help the nobility who were in straits financially and also to give a set-back to the corrupt and high-handed money-lenders[126]. The rates of interest of the Musadat were that,

> "for the first year, nothing is charged; in the second, the loan increased by a sixteenth part of it; in the third year, by one-eighth; in fourth year, by one-fourth; from the fifth to the seventh, by one-half; from the eighth to the tenth year by three-fourths; from the tenth year and longer, double the original loan is charged, after which there is no further increase"[127].

Though a large number of Mughal nobles used to suffer from financial straits due to their extravagance, not all of them used to live in such a state[128]. The Mughal nobles were all bureaucrats and thus they successfully exploited the merchants and traders by pressurizing them[129]. The Mughal emperors possessed the

125. Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari, Vol.I, Calcutta, 1939, P.273
126. Ibid, P.274
127. Ibid, P.275
128. M.H.Khafi Khan, Muntakhab-al-Lubab, Calcutta, 1860-74, Vol.II, P.63
129. Ibid, P.68

prime right of purchase and so the Mughal governors brought anything in the king's name so as to please him through presents[130]. It was this that prompted the provincial governors to indulge actively in trade. The governors were not authorized by the imperial government to do so but they did so on their own account and they escaped with it unpunished and unnoticed[131]. Emperor Akbar was indulging in trade and commerce on an individual basis, the result of which was that he had amounted an inconsiderable amount of personal wealth[132]. Speaking of Jahangir, an authority states that,

> "Likewise he cannot abide that any man should have any precious stone of value, for it is death, if he knew it not at the present time------. By the means the king hath engrossed all fair stones that no man can buy from 5 carates upwards without his leave for he hath the refusal of all and giveth not by the third part, so much as their value"[133].

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130. P. Saran, op.cit, P.73
131. Ibid, P.76
132. Ibid, P.207
133. Sir Charless Fawcett, op.cit, 1642-45, P.91

Emperor Shahjahan, indulged in trade, a fact which we know about through the laments of the English that until his cargo was put on the ships for despatch, little or negligible freight could be received by them, around 1643[134]. Emperor Aurangzeb's cargoes went as far as to Borneo. We know that in 1694, Aurangzeb's biggest ship, 'Ganj-i-sawai', while upon a return journey from Mecca, was looted of its 52 lakhs of rupees by pirates[135]. Shahjahan, even as a prince, before becoming the emperor, used to trade chiefly in stones, salt-petre, indigo, and cloth[136]. In 1618 once, the English helped calicoes disappear from the markets, with the result that Prince Shahjahan's ship was loaded with tobacco[137]. Jahangir's wife, Nurjahan's communications with the English ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe, for trading purposes are well-known[138]. Aurangzeb's sons, Prince Dara and Prince Shuja, both, used to indulge in personal trade. Princess Jahanara also carried on commercial activities[139]. The important Mughal noble, Asaf Khan, Jahangir's father-in-law; during the reigns of Jahangir and Shahjahan, indulged in private

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134. Ibid, P.92
135. Aurangzeb, Ruqqat-i-Alamgiri, Azamgarh, 1930, P.61
136. Sir Charles Fawcett, op.cit, 1618-21, P.XV(Introduction)
137. Ibid, P.XV
138. Thomas Roe, The embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, London, 1926, P.144
139. Aurangzeb, op.cit, PP.52-54

private trade and amassed great wealth[140]. Sadulla Khan, Shahjahan's minister, also participated in personal trade[141]. The nobles who were comparitively inferior in ranks also participated in trade. Once the Hindu noble, Mirza Raja Jai Singh took to manufacturing salt but as this posed a challenge to the state salt industry he was ordered to close down his endeavour[142].

The Mughal jagirdars, a large part of whom formed the Mughal nobility, indulged in extorting the maximum from the economically dilapitated farmers, without having any conscience for the economic upliftment of the areas under their jagirdaris[143]. Revenue farming or ijara became widespread during the later period of the Mughal rule, along with the bankers and shroffs investing their capital in it[144]. The European traveller Niccolao Mannucci has spoken of this as follows;

> "When any hungry wretch takes it into his head to ruin the kingdom, he goes to the king and says to him "Sire! If your majesty will give me permission to raise money and

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140. Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, Allahabad, 1930,P.69
141. B.P.Saxena, History of Shahjahan of Delhi, Allahabad, 1958, P.87
142. K.R.Qanungo, Studies in Rajput history, Calcutta,1952, P.92
143. Saiyad Nurul Hasan, Thoughts on agrarian relations in In Mughal India, Delhi,1983, P.31
144. N.A. Siddiqui, op.cit, P.58

> a certain number of armed men, I will pay so many millions",..... The men armed with the order, and impelled by their desire to gain an overplus on the sum contracted for, go about seizing everybody and putting them to torture"[145].

The high handedness exercised by the jagirdars in the way of collecting land-revenue was largely due to their temporary and momentary charges of jagirdari administration[146]. The Hindu chiefs also were no exception in this regard[147]. The Mughal imperial government had to depend largely on the zamindars for the land-revenue collection and provided them extra-government perquisites for the implementation and exercise for the same[148]. There were emerging during the Mughal period various kinds of zamindars. Some zamindars paid their tribute to the imperial government, some zamindars held their right over their areas of zamindaris, and some zamindars had come to accummulate hereditary rights over their lands[149].

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145. N.Manucci, <u>op.cit</u>, Vol.III, PP.48-9
146. S.Nurul Hasan, <u>op.cit</u>, P.24
147. N.Manucci, <u>op.cit</u>, Vol.III, P.46
148. S.Nurul Hasan, <u>op.cit</u>, P.18
149. <u>Ibid</u>, P.34

During the later part of the Mughal period, when revenue-farming became extensive, some influential zamindars came to get hold of big tallugadaris, which signified the tenure through which its holders got engaged on behalf of other zamindars[150]. By investing in revenue-farming many speculating shroffs and speculators became zamindars in their own way[151]. Murshid Quli Khan, the influential Mughal noble, came to hold half a dozen big zamindaris, which provided him half of the land-revenue of Bengal[152]. Thus in course of time, ambitious chieftains, countryside bankers, and revenue-grantus, all became zamindars of different sorts in their own way and right[153]. Thus, the institution of jagirdari, which was in the beginning not hereditary, gradually came to acquire a hereditary character by the close of the Mughal period[154].

The Mughal nobles received the jagirdaris in the capacity of being state-servants, the jagirs providing them with their salaries. Thus, in principle, the jagirs reverted back to the charge of the state after the said

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150. N.A. Siddiqui, op.cit, P.26
151. S.Gopal, op.cit, P.85
152. N.Manucci, op.cit, Vol.II, P.53
153. S. Gopal, op.cit, P.73
154. N.A. Siddiqui, op.cit, P.15

nobleman's death[155]. The European traveller, William Hawkins speaks as such;

> The custom of this Mughal emperor is to take possession of his nobleman's property when they die, and to bestow on their children what he pleaseth; but commonly he dealeth well wth them..... and unto the eldest son he hath a very great respect who in time receiveth the the full title of his father[156] " .

Francois Bernier remarks;

> "the barbarous and ancient custom obtains in this country, of the king's constituting himself sole heir of the property of those who die in his service"[157].

The same author remarks again;

> "The Umrah of Hindustan cannot be proprietors of land or enjoy an independent revenue like the nobility of France... Their

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155. N.Manucci, op.cit, Vol.I, P.79
156. W.Foster, Early travels in India,1583-1619, P.34
157. F. Bernier, op.cit, P.169

> income consists exclusively of pensions which the king grants or takes away according to his pleasure"[158].

The chief reasons why the property of the deceased nobles were taken by the empire, were, that the nobles were in the control of high state funds, and secondly they were invariably in debts to the imperial government[159]. These accounts were cleared and the rest of the money was given to the noble's children[160]. Emperor Aurangzeb enforced this rule very stringently[161]. However, on one occassion, when his noble Shaikh Muhiyuddin expired, the noble's son agreed to debit the credits of his father to the state, and so the emperor did not confiscate the dead noble's property[162]. Niccolao Manucci says that,

> "He (i.e. Aurangzeb) seizes everything left by his generals, officers, and other officials at their death, inspite of having declared that he makes, no claims on the goods of defunct persons. Nevertheless, under the pretext that they are his officers and are in debt to the Crown, he lays hold of everything"[163].

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158. Ibid, PP.163-65
159. John De Laet, The empire of the great Mogol, Bombay, 1928 P.52
160. Ibid, P.57
161. Ali Muhammad Khan, op.cit, P.238
162. Ibid, P.284
163. N. Manucci, op.cit, Vol.II, P.392

Sir J.N.Sarkar speaks as such in this regard;

> "the political effect of the escheat system was most disastrous. It prevented India from having one of the strongest safeguards of public liberty and checks on royal autocracy, namely an independent hereditary peerage, whose position and wealth did not depend on the king's favour in every generation and who could, therefore, afford to be bolt in their criticism of the royal caprice and their opposition to the royal tyranny"[164].

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164. J.N. Sarkar, <u>op.cit</u>, P.156

CHAPTER - 7

NOBILITY AND MUGHAL SOCIETY

The Mughal nobility brought to its fold a huge amount of the surplus production under the Mughal empire and some of this amount they utilized for the activities of public welfare and charities. The notable Mughal noble, Bakhtawar Khan, erected several building structures of public utility for the society. He built a traveller's inn or sarai near Shahjahanbad and named it after his own name, Bakhtawar Nagar[1]. Constituted of independent quarters for travellers with their families, it also had a mosque, with wells and bathrooms, providing for the travellers[2]. A garden surrounded the inn, and a tank was also built nearby. The same noble also built a bridge in-between Faridabad and Bakhtawar Nagar[3]. At Bakhtawarpura, the same noble built a mosque along with a tank and a residence for the poorer sections of the society[4]. Bakhtawar Khan also erected two or more gardens for the people at Agharabad and Lahore, and also built a mosque at the tomb of Shaikh

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1. Shaikh Muhammad Baga, Mirat-al-Alam, M.S. K.B.K.O.Library, Patna, ff. 250a
2. Ibid, ff. 250a
3. Ibid, ff. 251a
4. Ibid, ff. 251a

Nasiruddin Chiragh[5]. Thus Bakhtawar Khan built many rest houses, inns, wells and tanks, bridges, gardens and mosques; but he did not build any theological colleges or madrasas. Another notable Mughal noble, Shaista Khan, also contributed immencely to building of bridges and inns all through the width and breath of Hindustan on which he spent several lakhs of rupees[6]. The prominent Mughal noble, Mir Jumla built a big tank and a large garden at Hyderabad[7]. The Mughal noble Mir Khalil also built a large tank at Khalil sagar at Narnol[8]. The Mughal noble Irij Khan constructed a sarai or traveller's inn near Ilichpur[9]. Ghaziuddin Khan built a Khangah at Delhi[10]. All these Mughal nobles constructed a large number of mosques throughout Mughal India. On special occasions the Mughal nobles used to open free feeding-places for the poor people, sometimes on their own and sometimes under imperial orders. During the 1660 famine of northern India, all Mughal nobles of 1000 rank or above opened free kitchens[11]. But the Mughal nobles did not strive to work for such things as irrigation, hospitals, academic institutions and likewise.

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5. Ibid, ff. 252a
6. Saqi Mustaid Khan, Maasir-i-Alamgiri, Calcutta,1871, P.223
7. Shah Nawaz Khan, Maasir-ul-Umara, Bib:Ind, Patna, 1888, Vol. III, PP.530-55
8. Ibid, Vol.I, PP.785, 92
9. Ibid, Vol.I, PP.268, 72
10. Ibid, Vol.II, P.878
11. Muhammad Kazim, Alamgir Nama, Calcutta,1865-73, P.611

The Mughal nobles were highly interested in arts and literature. Some nobles were themselves scholars while some patronised scholars, though they never did anything in the way of opening up academic institutions for fostering arts and literature, because the best they did was to patronize scholars on individual basis[12]. Many Mughal nobles became famous as patrons of art and literature. The Mughal noble Itiqad Khan was very fond of learned people who were poor[13]. Sidi Miftah was too fond of scholars and he showed it by helping them and spending money for their upliftment and betterment[14]. Amir Khan used to send large sums of money to the Persian scholars[15]. Muhammad Saeed was a famous patron of authors[16]. Zulfiqar Khan used to patronize the famous poet Nasir Ali[17]. Husain Ali Khan used to patronize Abdul Jalil, a contemporary poet[18]. Some Mughal nobles had an interest in science and medicine. The Mughal noble, Danishmand Khan had engaged the famous European traveller Francois Bernier in order to hold discussions regarding medical subjects[19]. The famous monograph; 'Tuhfat-al-Hind', was compiled under the direct special orders of Khan-i-Jahan

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12. Ibid, P.502
13. Shah Nawaz Khan, op.cit, Vol.I. PP.232-34
14. Ibid, PP. 579-83
15. Ibid, Vol.III, PP.579-83
16. Ibid, Vol.I, P.272
17. Ibid, P.130
18. Ibid, P.276
19. Francois Bernier, Travels in the Mogul empire, Delhi, 1968, PP.324-25

Bahadur Kokaltash[20]. Some Mughal nobles themselves were able scholars, and we may maintain thus that the intellectual capacity of the Mughal nobility was not nil. The Mughal noble Danishmand Khan was himself of a scholarly disposition[21]. Izad Baksh, the governor of Agra was a famous poet and prose-writer[22]. Shaikh Ghulam Mustafa had a vast knowledge of subjects ranging to medicine,astrology, poetry, and calligraphy[23]. Zafar Khan wrote and composed a Diwan[24]. Mirza Muhammad Tahir wrote a history of the reign of emperor Shahjahan[25]. Himmat Khan was a poet and profound scholar of Hindi[26]. Islam Khan was a poet[27]. Muhammad Ashraf was a mystic and did a collection of the work of Maulana Jalaluddin[28]. Hisamuddin was a scientist and a poet as well[29]. Multafat Khan was a scholar of contemporary literature and was also a poet[30]. Aqil Khan Razi was a poet and wrote 'Waqiat-i-Alamgir'[31]. Dianat Khan was also a scholar of some repute[32].

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20. Ibid, P.121
21. Shaikh Muhammad Baqa, op.cit, f.222 b
22. Shah Nawaz Khan, op.cit, Vol.II, P.371
23. Ibid, PP.74-75
24. Ibid, PP.95-96
25. Ibid, Vol.II, PP.96-97
26. Ibid, Vol.III, PP.946-49
27. Ibid, Vol.I, PP.217-20
28. Ibid, Vol.I, PP.272-74
29. Ibid, Vol.I, PP.584-87
30. Ibid, Vol.III, PP.500-03
31. Ibid, Vol.II, PP.821-23
32. Ibid, Vol.II, PP.59-63

Alahwardi Khan Alamgir Shahi was a poet and composed a Diwan[33]. Musavi Khan was a scientist and a rationalist[34]. Saif Khan was a poet, a musician and was the author of 'Rag Darpan'[35]. Mir Khalil was a scholar of science, calligraphy and music[36].

The Mughal nobles maintained a well-organized harem. The harems included numerous wives of the nobles, servants, and animals in use[37]. The harems comprised an integral part of the Mughal nobles' household, and its establishment and maintenance used to cost the nobles a considerable amount of monetary expenses[38]. Each Mughal noble had several wives, not less than five or six, all these women being daughters of aristocrats[39]. They lived together in the noble's palace which was surrounded by high walls on all sides. Each wife lived in an independent enclosure or apartment of her own, well attended by slaves who even numbered up to one hundred[40]. These aristocratic women felt happy to spend their lives in seclusion and so slave-men,

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33. Ibid, Vol. I, PP.229-32
34. Ibid, Vol.III, PP.633-36
35. Ibid, Vol.II, PP.479-85
36. Ibid, Vol.I, PP.785-92
37. Francois Bernier, op.cit, P.213
38. Streynsham Master, The diaries of Streynsham Master, 1675-80, London, 1911, P.72
39. Ibid, P.81
40. Pelsaert, Jahangir's India, Cambridge, 1925, PP.64-65

slave-girls, and eunuchs were employed to look after them and cater for their personal needs and services[41]. The European author Joha Fryer has described them as follows;

> "........ toothless old women and beardless eunuchs. They also wait on ladies to hand them necessaries as food, water, meat, and they like taking them at the door, as to prevent unlawful intruders"[42].

The life of the Mughal nobility within the four-walls of the palaces was all luxury. Gardens, and tanks beautified the palaces, and running water, feeding tanks and artificial water-falls adorned the enclosure of these palaces[43]. The life of the Mughal nobility inside the harems is well-illustrated by the European traveller Niccolao Manucci as follows;

> "The ladies love to regale themselves with quantities of delicious shews ; to adorn themselves magnificently, either with clothes or jewellery,

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41. John Fryer, A new account of East-India and Persia being nine years travels, 1627-81, London, 1909, 1912, 1915, Vol.I, PP.326-28
42. Ibid, Vol.I, P.328
43. Pelsaert, op.cit, P.64

> pearls, etcetera; to perfume their bodies with odours and essences of every kind. To this must be added that they have permission to enjoy the pleasure of the comedy and the dance, to listen to tales and stories of love, to recline upon beds of flowers, to walk about in gardens, to listen to the murmur of the running waters, to hear singing and other similiar pastimes"[44].

Again Niccolao Manucci states;

> "In the cool of the evening they drink a great deal of wine, for the women learn the habit quickly from their husbands"[45].

The noblemen spent their evenings and nights in the harems, while drinking, music and dances went on up-till the late hours of the night[46]. The European traveller, Francois Bernier has remarked that in Mughal India one cannot see and enjoy the houses of the nobles as was the case in France, because the houses of Mughal nobles were

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44. N.Manucci, Storia Do Mogor, Vol.II, London, 1907-8, PP.352-53
45. Ibid, Vol.II, PP.353-54
46. Pelsaert, op.cit, P.65

barricaded by high huge walls and the gardens and other assets of a luxurious life were all hidden from the eyes of the common people[47]. As a matter of fact, the Mughal nobles spent lavishly on their harems and lived a highly luxurious life[48]. For example, the Mughal noble Amanat Khan, possessed a palatial house at Burhanpur with gardens and tanks fed by canals[49]. The Mughal nobles possessed a number of animals and to give an example, the Mughal noble Aaud Khan spent Rs.250000 on his animals including tigers, per year[50]. The Mughal nobles, besides leading a highly luxurious life within their palaces, always maintained pomp, gaity and splendour out of their houses too. To quote the European traveller, Francois Bernier, the Mughal nobles

> "are never seen out-of-doors but in the most superb apparel; mounted sometimes on an elephant, sometimes on horse-back, and not infrequently on a palkey attended by many of their cavalry, and by a large body of servants on foot, who take their station in front and at either side of their lord, not only to clear the way, but to flap the flies and brush off the dust with tails

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47. F.Bernier, _op.cit_, P.233
48. Bhimsen, _Nuskha-i-Dilkusha_, M.S.K.B.K.O. Library, Patna, f.26a
49. _Ibid_, f.27a
50. N. Manucci, _op.cit_, Vol.IV, P.255

of pea-cocks; to carry the pioquedant and spittoon, water to allay the Qmrah's thirst, and sometimes account book and other papers"[51].

The European traveller, John De Laet has stated that the luxurious life-style of the Mughal nobility is very difficult to describe because the one prime concern of their life was to eke out every kind of pleasure and luxury out of their life[52]. Because of their temporary and precarious official situations, the Mughal nobles were as a matter of fact narrow in their aims and a lot petty in their attitudes and purposes; they also being proficient in flattery and polite but insincere when they had to get some privilege out of any one[53]. The Mughal nobles were the embodiment of wealth and voluptousness mingled together in an unnatural way[54]. They practised oppression on the common and poor masses of Mughal India, although such ill-character traits were kept in check by the Mughal emperors although it is also true that the emperors were unable to check and curb the widespread ill of disloyalty and recalcitrance which characterised the Mughal nobility[55]. The

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51. F. Bernier, op.cit, PP.213-14
52. John De Laet, The empire of the great Mogol, Bombay, 1928, P.90
53. Ibid, P.97
54. Thomas Roe, The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the court of the great Mogol, Vol.I, London, 1926, P.74
55. Fray Sebastian Manrique, Travels of Fray Sebastian Manrique, 1628-43, Hakluyt Society, London, 1927, Vol.I, P.53

lack of loyalty among the Mughal nobles was to be witnessed from the very outset, for example, emperor Babur had to compel his nobles to take oaths from the Quran_sharif before he undertook his expedition against Rana Sanga[56]. The little feeling among the Mughal nobility for the emperor who was the one and only sign of national solidarity, was overshadowed by their characteristic ills of treachery and ingratitude[57]. Nobles who were in crucial positions in the state administration never strained themselves from plotting intrigues against the emperor. When emperor Shahjahan was overthrown by his son Aurangzeb, none of his nobles came forward to help him in his time of distress, a thing which could not have been tolerated by the nobles if there would have been a semblance of constitutional monarchy[58]. But at the same time there were a few minor exceptions among the nobles who stood the test of time in their steadfast loyalty to the throne[59]. For example Asad Khan, the Mughal noble has been landed in this way;

> "He may be said to have been the seal and last member of that ancient nobility of Hindustan,

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56. Zahiruddin Babur, Babur-Nama, Vol.II, New Delhi,1970,P.79
57. F.S. Manrique, op.cit, Vol.II, P.73
58. N.Manucci, op.cit, Vol.IV, P.42
59. Ibid, Vol.III, P.98

that had done so much honour to the Empire. He had every qualification that can constitute a character equally eminent in public, and aimable in private; of a placability of temper, and of a benignity of disposition so endearing, that to this very day, his name is affectionately remembered by every one. Without having ever stooped to any lords of the recent courts, he lived with dignity and splendour to the very last, exerting uninterruptedly his boundless influence over every part of the empire, where, to his immortal nonour, as well as to the emolument of all contemporaries, he never ceased to employ his credit, as well as purse, in obliging any one that presented himself, whether a friend or stranger"[60].

The Mughal nobles were very courageous for courage was needed for the nobles to attain status and rank, and their behaviour was very civilized. They used to hold darbars where the inferiors obeyed them and listened to them, showing their respect for them silently as statues[61]. But these facets of the Mughal nobility passed away into oblivion

60. Ibid, Vol.IV, PP.98-100
61. Ibid, Vol.III, P.61

after Aurangzeb, when weak sovereigns came to sit upon the Mughal throne, as has been rightly said that weak emperors were responsible for weak nobility[62]. Thus the Mughal noble Saadat Khan invited Nadir Shah to invade Mughal India, and Saadat Khan's son Safdar Jang who commanded the artillery against the Mughal empire itself[63]. During this time, the rapid changes in the headship of the government, made the nobles feel insecure and they doubted about their allegiance[64]. Every Mughal noble, thus, during the later Mughal history, became a sort of law unto himself. Aurangzeb's son, Bahadur Shah had promised to the nobility even before becoming the emperor that he would not disobey its wishes[65]. Thus, after he became the emperor, he gave out mansabs and ranks to the nobles on an unprecedented scale, with the result that the position and dignity associated with Mansabs fell down heavily[66]. Thus, "the grants of mansabs, naubat, and nakara, elephants, the jigha and sarpech were no longer regulated by the rank and dignity of the recipient. This fact earned for the emperor the title of the Heedless King"[67]. Succeeding Aurangzeb, all Mughal

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62. Ibid, P.341
63. James Tod, Annals and antiquities of Rajasthan, Vol.I Ed. Crooke, Delhi, 1971, P.330
64. Ibid, Vol.I, P.330
65. Syed Ghulam Husain Khan, op.cit, P.54
66. Ibid, P.17
67. Muhammad Hashim Khafi Khan, Muntakhab-ul-lubab, in Henry Elliot and John Dowson's, The history of India as told by its own historians, The Muhammadan period, Vol.VII, Calcutta, 1869, P.410

emperors were all weak which led to the Mughal nobles becoming all powerful to the extent that they even went up to the extent of quarelling in the presence of the emperor himself as did Muzaffar Khan and Burhan-il-Mulk in front of Muhammad Shah[68]. The nobles acquired immence control over government and non-government lands, organized their personal contingents and used the emperor as a ploy in their own hands[69].

The Mughal nobility's wealth originated from the imperial treasury and it was the same place that a part of the nobility's wealth returned in form of presents on their behalf to the Mughal emperors, which was an established social custom during the Mughal empire;

> "Whoever it may be who desires to have audience of the king, they ask before everything else, where the present is that he has to offer to him, and they examine it to see if it is worthy of being offered to his Majesty. No one ever ventures to show himself with empty hands, and it is an honour obtained at no little cost[70]".

68. Ibid, P.397
69. Ibid, P.209
70. Jean Baptiste Tavernier, Travels in India, 1640-67, tr. V. Ball, London, 1889, Vol.I, PP.140-41

This social custom of the Mughal nobility offering costly presents to the Mughal emperors had its origin in the Persian Caliphate[71]. Whenever, the Mughal provincial governors had to pay their share of annual land revenue to the Mughal emperors, they had to follow this practice of presenting presents to the imperial headship[72]. On some special occassions it was customary of the Mughal nobility to offer presents to the emperor, such as on the birthday of the emperor[73]. Those nobles who had done anything out of order, those who wanted some favour out of the emperor, all used presents to bring the best of humour from the emperors. Thus the Mughal nobles indulgently presented the emperors with diamonds and pearls[74]. These presents were in fact presents and not bribes because they were offered openly as a form of the social etiquette prevailing in the Mughal society[75]. On the New Year Day the Mughal emperors received presents from their nobility, it being a custom adopted by emperor Akbar and borrowed from Persia[76]. On this occasion the emperors received gifts and presents

71. Khuda Baksh, The orient under the Caliphs. P.128
72. J.B. Tavernier, op.cit, Vol.I, P.123
73. N. Manucci, op.cit, Vol.II, PP.347-48
74. F. Bernier, op.cit, P.271
75. N.Manucci, op.cit, Vol.II, P.344
76. F. Bernier, op.cit, P.263

from the common people of the land also[77]. On such special occasions, the wives of the Mughal nobles went to the inner portals of the emperor's palace to congratulate the wives of the emperors and carried with themselves presents for the emperor's wives[78]. Upon the birth of the royal prince, the nobles presented the emperor with precious stones, money, and costly animals[79]. Whenever the Mughal imperial forus chalked out a victory the occasion was fit enough for the nobles to congratulate the emperor by way of offering him presents. For example when the Mughal noble Nizam-ul-Malk won a victory he congratulated the emperor and sent along a number of ashrafis or gold mohurs as a form of nazar[80]. During Jahangir, Kunwar Karan, after gaining victories in the Deccan presented the emperor with one hundred gold mohurs, rupees one thousand as nazar, and rupees twenty-one thousand in value, plus some animals as pesh-kash[81]. The Mughal emperors also received presents from royal princes because they were also subjects, as for example Prince Khurram (Shahjahan) offered Jahangir one thousand gold mohurs

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77. John De Laet, Description of India and Fragment of Indian history, Bombay, 1928, P.100
78. N.Manucci, op.cit, Vol.II, P.345
79. Ibid, Vol.II, P.343
80. S.G.H. Khan, op.cit, Vol.I, P.248
81. Jahangir, Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Aligarh, 1863-64, Vol.II, P.54

and one thousand rupees on one occasion[82]. The Hindu rajas had to also pay presents to the emperors because the Mughal emperor was their overlord, as for example the Raja of Kumaun presented Akbar with a yak and a Musk-deer, onee[83].

Sometimes the Mughal emperors visited the houses of their nobles and on such occasions the nobles used to offer costly presents to the emperors who honoured them by visiting their houses. When Babur visited the house of his paymaster, the latter presented him with gifts worth two lakhs of rupees[84]. Similarly Asaf Khan presented Jahangir with gifts worth 1.14.000 rupees when Jahangir visited his house[85]. Jahangir also visited Itimad-ud-daulah's houses, the noble presented gifts upto rupees 4.50.000 to the emperor[86]. When Aurangzeb visited the house of his noble Jatar Khan, the latter presented the emperor with gold coins worth one hundred thousand crowns, some costly pearls, a ruby costing forty thousand crowns[87].

The custom of offering the emperors with presents by nobles was prevalent throughout the Mughal period. Babur,

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82. M.H.Khafi Khan, op.cit, P.474
83. A.Q.Badayuni, Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh,Calcutta,1865-68,P.377
84. Z.Babur, op.cit, P.89
85. Jahangir, op.cit, Vol.I, P.69
86. Ibid, Vol.II, P.71
87. F. Bernier, op.cit, P.271

the first Mughal emperor writes that upon his son Humayun's nativity he received such a mass of white tankas that he had never set his eyes upon ever before[88]. Akbar had even issued a state-order that everyone, rich or poor should bring presents for him[89]. In his turn, the emperors also offered presents by way of their favour for someone, thus, giving away precious stones, costly robes and animals like horses and elephants[90]. Jahangir used to send dresses of honour to the nobles of Kabul[91]. Once the same emperor sent winter robes to honour the governor of Bengal Qasim Khan[92]. Dresses of honour were sent by Jahangir also to Khan-i-Khanan Jan-Sipar, and other nobles doing services in southern India or Deccan[93]. Upon the death of his noble Itimad-ud-daulah, Jahangir offered honour-dresses to more than fifty offsprings of the said noble[94]. Once in every year, the Mughal emperors presented an outfit for the rainy seasons known as "Batani" to the nobles[95]. When any armed victory was attained by the Mughal emperors, the nobles were presented with increase in ranks and monetary presents on the behalf of the Mughal

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88. Z.Babur, op.cit, P.83
89. A.Q.Badayuni, op.cit, Vol.II, P.332
90. N. Manucci, op.cit, Vol.II, P.349
91. Jahangir, op.cit, Vol.I, P.348
92. Ibid, Vol.II, P.303
93. Ibid, P.97
94. Ibid, P.223
95. N. Manucci, op.cit, Vol.II, P.464

emperors. For example, when Humayun achieved a victory over Sikandar Lodi's son Sultan Muhammad, he honoured the nobles by presenting them with Arabian horses and robes of honour[96]. Whenever any noble was awarded a new appointment he was presented with a Khilat, for example when Emperor Shah Alam appointed Shuja-ud-daulah as the Vazir, the emperor presented him a khilat of precious stones, and a casket made of gold and studded with precious stones[97].

About emperor Akbar it has been stated that;

> "His majesty, from his knowledge of man's nature, gives donation in various ways. It looks as if he lends, but in his heart he makes a present or he calls the donation a loan, but never asks it back. The far and near, the rich and poor, share His Majesty's liberality. He gives away elephants, horses, and other valuable articles"[98].

Again, about the same emperor it has been stated;

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96. S.G.H.Khan, <u>op.cit</u>, Vol.III, P.189
97. <u>Ibid</u>, P.395
98. A.Fazl, <u>Ain-i-Akbari</u>, Vol.I, PP.265-66

"He bestows his fostering care upon men of various classes, and seeks for occasions to make presents. Thus, when His Majesty was informed of the feasts of the Jamsheds, and the festivals of the Parsi priests, he adopted them, and used them as opportunities of conferring benefits"[99].

The Mughal nobility spent the Most on arms, but following it the Nobility's chief expenditure was on leading a highly luxurious social life. A Mughal noble could buy only the necessities upto the minimum in Delhi's bazaar with an amount of rupees 100000[100]. The Mughal nobles spent a lot of money on the imported items of luxury from Iran and Central Asia[101]. The Mughal nobility had a relish for productive items of luxury which were of extremely high and complicated skills. This encouraged the specialization of manufactured items in Mughal India[102]. Thus the Mughal nobility's style of social life was responsible to a great extent for the development of luxury manufactures. The Karkhanas or workshops were an integral part of the Mughal

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99. Ibid, P.276
100. Irfan Habib, The agrarian system of Mughal India, Bombay, 1963, P.121
101. N.Manucci, op.cit, Vol.IV, P.89
102. Ibid, Vol.III, P.105

nobility's establishment[103]. These karkhanas produced all sorts of luxury goods and were responsible for giving opportunity to skillful artisans during Mughal India. The European traveller Francois Bernier has written that

> "The arts in the Indies would long ago have lost their beauty and delicacy, if the Monarch and principal Qmrahs did not keep in their pay a number of artists who work in their houses"[104].

The Mughal nobility also contributed towards building the infrastructure of the empire, for example, the nobles lent an important hand in the building up of the Mughal cities. Lalore, Agra, Delhi, and Fateh-pur-Sikri were all built with the help of the Mughal nobles[105]. They lavished their resources in building up Delhi, as also the cities of Dacca and Aurangabad were also taken note of by the Mughal nobles. Bernier has written that the nobles who wanted to seek favour from the emperor Shahjahan embellished the city of Delhi at their own expense[106]. The Mughal nobles practised the policy of planting road-side trees along the

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103. Ibid, Vol.IV,P.123
104. F.Bernier, op.cit, PP.228-29
105. Ibid, P.251
106. Ibid, PP.280-81

major routes of the Mughal empire, also putting up road-signs for the convenience of the travellers[107]. The Mughal nobility also invested in horticulture. All the nobles maintained orchards for catering to the markets[108]. Fruits from Iran and central Asia were developed in India during the Mughal period. One grevious ill in the society of the Mughal nobles was the desire and practise of hoarding up unlimited treasures in way of cash and assets[109]. They did so because there were lesser investment opportunities, and they wanted to buttress their political influence as well as to maintain the sustainence of a high cost and standard of living[110]. Several Mughal nobles left an amount of in-between three to ten millions after their deaths[111].

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107. W.H. Moreland, op.cit, P.134
108. Ibid, P.151
109. Irfan Habib, op.cit, P.82
110. Ibid, P.133
111. Ibid, P.97

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

A conceptual analysis of the phenomenon of nobility leads us to affirm that the institution of nobility signified a powerful and influential class in the socio-political structure of the medieval times. It had a status which was legal, which in turn was hereditary in character. The nobility comprised a few selected families. The medieval state provided recognition to its hereditary succession, and its numerous powers and privileges[1]. In the first feudal age in Europe, the nobility comprised the powerful noble elements who had acquired an influential position in the contemporary society due to the ineffectiveness of the government. During the later feudal age in Europe, the nobility's character underwent changes. Now it was associated with a legal monopoly. Thus the de-facto nobility changed to a de-jure one. The noble was not a vassal now. There were differences between the two categories of nobles now[2].

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1. Marc Bloch, Feudal Society, London, 1965, P.283
2. Ibid, P.332

The Indian nobility of the medieval period was different from its European counterpart. The nobility in Europe was not created deliberately, but it was formed due to the exigencies of the times, chiefly due to the weakness of the kingship and the state. But in India, the nobility was deliberately created by the medieval Indian state. It was deliberately created so as to be used as a prop or support in the task of nation and empire-building, and consolidation of kingship, as it was, in medieval India. The chief factor behind this was the alien and foreign character of the medieval Indian state. The Delhi Sultans and the Mughal emperors were of Central Asian origin, and hence they were foreigners in India.

Both Europe and India, underwent periods of feudalism, covering quite the identical ages i.e. middle ages. Indian feudalism had both common and uncommon features as compared to the western feudalism. The main contradiction between the two was that the Indian feudalism was based upon the village community system. But later on, state intervention in village economy cracked the independent structure of the Indian village replublics. Moreover, the manorial system and serfdom, two institutions prevailing in western feudalism, were lacking in the Indian feudal system.

The nobility during early medieval India, i.e; under the Delhi Sultans, was below the Sultans, because the nobility's power and position were delegated by the state. The claims of the nobility during this period were hereditary. The nobles were originally slaves, and the Sultans did not tolerate their disobedience. The ethnic and racial composition of the nobility of this period comprised the Turks, Afghans, converted Mongols and so on. They played a significant role in the consolidation of the Delhi Sultunate. Under the Khaljis, Indian nobles joined the ranks of the nobility. The nobles did not have a private life of their own, but the Sultans sided with them on normal occasions. During the later Sultans, the nobility became recalcitrant. Meritorious titles were provided to the nobles, e.g. Khans, Maliks, Amirs, etc. Military titles like Sipah-Salar, and Sarkhel, were also there. Official titles, such as Shughl, Khitab, and Aqta, were also conferred upon them. Revenue assignments provided to the nobles were called Aqtas. Thus the economic status governed the political and social status of the nobles. The aqtas were official grants but later one due to the Sultunate's decline they assumed a hereditary character. The standard of life of the nobility was extremely high as they aped the life-style of the Sultans. They maintained huge establishments. They were very much involved in the court

activities. The nobles occupied crucial and important positions at different levels of the court. They also indulged in charity and they established quite a few such institutions of charity. This was done all through the life-span of the Delhi Sultunate.

The nobility of the later medieval period or during the Mughal rule was akin to the Sultunate nobility in many respect so far as its organisation and composition are concerned. The nobility was created by the Mughal emperors. Babur composed the nobility from various racial and ethnic elements, such as Timurids, Turanis, Mirzas, Mongols, Iranis, Uzbecks, Afghans etc. The Mughal emperors conferred, increased, decreased, and resumed the Mansab or ranks of the nobles. The nobility was composed of the jagirdars, khanazads, zamindars, etc. During Akbar, Rajputs came to the fore of the Mughal nobility. As the Mughal empire advanced into the Deccan, Deccani noble elements such as Bijapuris, Haiderabadis, and the famous Marathas, entered the Mughal nobility, especially during the later part of the Mughal empire's history. The Mughal nobility was organised on the jagirdari and Mansabdari scales. By the distribution of jagirs the collection of land revenue was assigned to the jagirdars. Mansab meant office, rank, and position. The Mansabdars owed subordination to the

emperors. This organisation was dual in character. First, it was the Zat or personal rank and secondly, it was the Suwar or cavalry rank. The Zat rank came into being during Akbar's reign and consisted of three grades[3]. There were equal Zat and Suwar ranks. There were Suwar ranks just half the Zat ranks. There were even lower than the half Suwar ranks[4]. Another feature was added to the mansabdari during Jahangir's reign. This was the introduction of what was called the Du-Aspa and Sih-Aspa ranks. These additions were a part of the Suwar ranks. The Mughal nobles received their salaries from the state, in form of cash and jagirs. The salaries were determined by their ranks. Month-scale salaries were introduced during Shahjahan.

The Hindu noble element of the Rajputs were first of all enlisted as Mughal nobles by Akbar, for the exigencies of politics called for such an action. Following the submission of the Kachwaha house of the Rajputana in 1562, Bahar Mall became the first Rajput noble to join the Mughal ranks. Bihari Mal gave his daughter for marriage to Akbar. From Akbar to Aurangzeb, the Rajput nobles played a leading role in the Mughal administration. They served as the most domineering Hindu noble element at the Mughal court during this long period.

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3. Abdul Aziz, The Mansabdari system and the Mughal Army, Delhi, 1972, P.47

4. Ibid, PP.47-48

Akbar first of all recognised the value of the Rajputs who were vitally important from political considerations as was evidenced from the treaty of Bundi[5]. During the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, the noble houses of the Rajputana, chiefly, Jodhpur and Amber, executed dominating roles at the Mughal imperial court. The long contact of the Rajputs with the Mughals saw them serving in remote regions like Maharashtra and Assam. The Rajputs also came to know of the complex administrative and military systems of the Mughals. They also overcame their regional patriotism for the cause of a national sentiment. But on the contrary, the narrow-minded Rajputs became more so isolated with the result that the two conflicting ideas put hindrance to political stability in the Rajputana. Thus Rajasthan came to bear a picture of a zoological garden with the barriers of cages put down and the game keepers absent[6]. Although the Mughals dominated the Rajputs by their offensive ceremonials but they also gave them opportunity to go for unlimited military and political exploits outside the confines of the Rajputana. Thus the noteworthy multi-sided achievements of Man Singh, Jaswant Singh, and Jai Singh. From Akbar to Aurangzeb, the Mughals utilised the Rajput nobles for

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5. James Tod, Annals and Antiquity of Rajasthan, Vol.III, Delhi, 1971, PP.1480-82

6. J.N.Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol.I, Calcutta, 1949, P.131

important imperial purposes and that also without encroaching upon the Rajput authority unduly. However, the disastrous policies of Aurangzeb marred the Mughal Rajput relations.

The other formidable Hindu noble element of the Marathas was included into the Mughal nobility during the later part of the empire's history. The Maratha nobles did not possess an impressive personality like the Rajputs but they were sufficiently proud of their humble origins even after the attainment of power and prestige. The Hindu influence, chiefly due to the Marathas, had come to pervade the Deccani Sultunates even prior to the policy of Sulh-i-kul, adopted by Akbar. As the Mughal empire expanded towards the Deccan during the seventeenth century, so the Maratha noble elements intruded into the fore of the Mughal nobility. The Marathas were to be given positions of their choice, without ever disturbing the inner cohesion of the Mughal nobility. It was this process which gave rise to a movement in Maharashtra for regional independence[7]. Malik Ambar, the prominent Mughal general had initially utilised the Maratha chiefs on a large basis. The Mughals now realized the Maratha significance in the conquest of the Deccan. In this way, the Maratha chiefs were provided with military training and political experience.

7. Satish Chandra, Parties and politics at the Mughal court, Delhi, 1972, "Introduction". P.XXXIV.

The class-structure of the Maratha nobles was akin to that of the medieval Indian Muslim nobility. The Maratha nobility also survived basically on the surplus labour extracted out of the peasantry. Greed and self-aggrandizement were the characteristics of this class[8]. Thus encouraged by political exigencies, Aurangzeb started to enlist the Marathas in the Mughal nobility. He even tried to lure Shivaji with a Mansab grant of 5000/5000. By a royal decree he was made a panj-hazari.

The Mughal nobility was integrally binded with the administration, for the entire Mughal bureaucracy comprised the Mughal nobility and rested whole-scale on it. The nobility comprised the court and it executed crucially important court activities. The nobility was divided into tainat-i-rakab and tainat-i-subajat. These were nobles posted at the imperial court and in the provinces of the empire. The nobles were required to obey to the court injunctions and etiquette. The emperors granted different grades of titles and distinctions to the nobility. The most important of these was the 'Khan'. The nobles were involved in public, military, civil, executive and judicial services. In the provincial units there were three vitally crucial executive posts of the Nazim or governor, the faujdar, and the thanedar. Some other important administrative posts were those of the Diwan,

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8. P.V.Ranade, "Feudal content of Maharashtra Dharma", I.H.R. 74, Vol.I, No.1,P.45

Mir Bakshi, second Bakshi, third Bakshi, and the like. The post of the central Diwan was very important. Thus through the administration of these powerful posts which were transferable, the Mughal nobles got the opportunity of serving through the entire length and breadth of the empire. Through constant transfers the inner balance of the nobility was maintained. The Mughal nobility thus combined the two-fold status of aristocracy and bureaucracy. The emperors scrutinised and acted accordingly, so far as the conduct of the nobility was concerned. The nobles often indulged in unscrupulous activities such as taking bribes, etc. All this contributed to the ultimate weakening of the administrative machinery leading to the downfall of the Mughal empire.

The economic organisation of the Mughal nobility was very strong. The nobles participated extravagantly in the trading and commercial activities of the Mughal empire. They never saved anything as their property was liable to be confiscated by the state after their death. Thus they led a very luxurious life and often landed themselves in heavy debt[9]. They maintained large and expensive household establishments. They extended costly gifts to the emperors on all occasions for personal gratification in the political, social, and economic fields. They aped the luxurious life-style of the emperors themselves. The Mughal nobility was not a landed class like

9. Francois Bernier, Travels in the Mogol Empire, Delhi, 1968 P. 213

the European nobility. The jagirs or revenue assignments were transferable. Neither was the Mughal nobility a mercantile community like the contemporary British nobility Mir Jumla was perhaps a stark exception of a merchant becoming a political figure[10]. The nobles were very much interested in luxury items like jewellery. So they established individual workshops or karkhanas, in which they employed several artisans, who produced luxury items for the daily use and comfort of the nobles. The nobles used to gratify themselves with accepted gifts so as to maintain the high standard of their life. As jagirdars, they had to depend on the land-revenue to meet their expenses. They pressurised the peasantry. Thus their conduct was not above ethical and moral codes.

The Mughal nobility was as an institution, integrally connected with the Mughal social set-up in many-sided ways. Public life and charity were integral features of their social life. The nobles built inns, mosques, gardens, and other institutions of public utility. They were very much interested in arts and letters. They patronised scholars and some of them were themselves respectable scholars. They maintained well-established harems for their women-folk and children. The exchange of gifts was a common practice among them. They were both loyal and disloyal to their rulers. Their

10. Niccolao Manucci, Storia Do Mogor, V-1, London, 1907-8, P.70

life could be easily described as eminent and in contrast to the life of the general masses.

The Mughal nobility was different than the European nobility in the sense that after death, the property of the noble was confiscated and escheated by the emperor. Thus the Mughal peerage was not hereditary. Art, and morals, and manners were generated by the nobility and passed over to the lower classes. A medieval European authority speaks as such.

> The Mughal noble's "position is unstable as the wind, resting on no firm foundation, but rather on pillars of glass, resplendent in the eyes of the world, but collapsing under the stress of even a slight storm.
>
> Their mahals are adorned internally with lascivious sensuality, wanton and reckless festivity, superflous pomp, inflated pride, and ornamental daintiness, while the servants of the lord may justly be described as a generation of aniquity, greed, and oppression[11]."

After the summary of our major findings, we now proceed on to conclude that before Akbar, the Mughal nobility

11. Pelsaert, Jahangir's India, Cambridge, 1925, P.64

was not an organised body as it came to be later on. Humayun classified the court into three sections and re-classified them into twelve grades, thus determining the order of precedence. Thereafter, Akbar organised the mansabdari system with 10 being the lowest rank and 5000 being the highest. Later on it was raised to 7000 and even 8000. Definite salary for each mansab and for the number of suwars was fixed. Thus the Mughal nobles became servants of the state. The emoluments enjoyed by them were extremely high and could not be compared to their modern counterparts in civil service. Though the Mughal nobility was not hereditary but it was to an extent self-perpetuating. Ethnic, national, and clan factors did not have favour with the Mughal emperors and as such the Mughal nobility was composed of a colourful heteregoneous multi-racial elements, consisting of Hindustanis and foreigners of chiefly Central Asian extraction. Through the mansabdari system this heterogenous and multi-racial character of the Mughal nobility was to be simplified and organised. Thus subsequently mixed contingents were into exercise which put restraints on the regional and exclusive interests. The Mughal emperors patronised learning, administrative talent and arts. This encouraged many men to arrive at the Mughal court. Some of these people became very prominent in the Mughal empire. The Mughal emperors believed in the principle or aristocracy and preferred nobles of high birth.

The Rajputs formed a tribal-clan group which was regional in character. But as the champions of the Hindu cause and society, they gained recognition first by Akbar. They were entrusted with guarding the royal harem during the Mughal times. The number of the Rajputs was never verh high in the Mughal nobility but some of them like Man Singh, Jai Singh and Jaswant Singh rose to highest situations in the empire. With the progression of the Mughal empire towards the Deccan, the Marathas joined the imperial service. The position of aspiring Marathas in the Mughal imperial service without disturbing the inner cohesion of the Mughal nobility, gave rise to a regional movememt in Maharashtra aimed at independence.

To quote an important source,

"The nobility of the Mughals although it suffered from a number of internal weakness, was on a broad view, a remarkable institution which welded into a homogenous and harmonious whole men belonging to different regions and tribes, speaking different languages and professing different religions, and with differing cultural traditions. The Mughals succeeded in imbuing the nobles with a sense of common purpose and loyalty to the reigning dynasty, and in imparting to them a

distinctive cultural outlook, and in creating traditions of high efficiency and endeavour in administration. It was, thus, a definite factor in serving for a century and a half a remarkable degree of unity and good government in the country"[12].

The Mughal empire held strong for nearly two centuries. At one hand was the gorgeous splendour of the Mughal court and empire and at the other hand was the situation of abject poverty of the masses. The personality of the Mughal emperors was responsible for the strength of the empire and the Mughal nobles played no mean part in bringing this about. The central bureaucracy was of course controlled by the emperors but it spread its veins like blood-vessels all through the empire.

A modern scholar speaks as such of the Mughal nobles,

> "They acted as, as it were, the emperor's eyes and ears, the oil which caused the bureaucratic wheels to revolve. The emperor controlled them in a number of ways. Akbar paid them their large salaries in cash, so that they lacked a territorial basis for revolt. His successor found this system too arduous to maintain, and gave them

12. Satish Chandra, Parties and politics at the Mughal court, Delhi, 1972, Introduction, P.XXXV.

assignments on the land revenue, in other words tracts of land from which they collected the revenue in lieu of a salary. The obvious danger of this practice was countered in two ways. The first was rotation of office; Mughal officers rarely held high appointments, such as governorships, for more than three or four years at a time. The second was the resumption of thin property at death. The assignments of land were for life only; the next generation had to start from the bottom with an official appointment"[13].

The Mughal nobles were nearly always in heavy debt and this they tided over with through advances from the treasury. After death the property was confiscated and the debts were settled. The death-duties amounted to hundred per-cent. Thus they spent heavily all through while they were alive. Thus the Mughal nobility was an official aristocracy which was hereditary as a class but not individualistic. The class was land-holding but was not feudal.

While extending our last part of the conclusion, we must conclude upon the lines of the jagirdari crisis which was one of the most important reasons for the empire's decline.

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13. P. Spear, A history of India, Harmonsworth, 1981, P.41

By the end of the seventeenth century the jagirdari system had started to show rampant signs of disintegration. There was an unprecedented increase in the number of grants of mansabdari, at the time of which there were no available jagirs for assignment. After Aurangzeb, the bulk of the Khalisa lands were not turned into jagirs. Emergency forces were recruited on cash payments at times which indicated that the central government had no control over the jagirdars. The mansabdars had been reduced to such financial straits that they could not maintain any more their full contingents. Thus the military system had been corroded of its capacity and integrity. Dissatisfied jagirdars could not ensure military and executive efficiency because of their lack of organisational capacities. The jagirdari crisis resulted in the exploitation of the peasantry. The intermediaries or the zamindars rack-rented the peasantry so as to fulfill their own desires. One of the chief defects of the jagirdari system from the beginning was the constant transfer of jagirs as a result of which the zamindars and peasantry were rack-rented, the ruin of cultivation followed and indirectly resulted the increase in the number of mansabdars. Thus the jagirdari crisis accentuated the tottering Mughal empire towards virtual disaster and collapse, as it meant the collapse of the institution of the nobility.

GLOSSARY

1. Diwan - Financial official of ranking superiority.
2. Kotwal - Police official.
3. Zamindar - Holder of landed - property.
4. Turanis - Central Asians.
5. Iranis - Persians.
6. Shaikhzadas - Indian Muslims.
7. Deccanis - South Indians.
8. Mansab - Military rank.
9. Mansabdars - Holders of the Mansab ranks.
10. Jagir - Landed-property given to holders of military rank.
11. Jagirdar - Holders of jagir.
12. Zat rank - Personal rank of mansabdars.
13. Suwar rank - Additional rank of mansabdars.
14. Khasa Khilat - Special robe of honour.
15. Jaziyah - Religious tax levied by Muslims on Hindus.
16. Paraganas - Territorial demarcation.
17. Nakarras - Kettle-drums.
18. Subah - Territorial demarcation.
19. Rajputana - Area comprising and surrounding Rajasthan.
20. Bargis - Maratha chiefs and their followers.
21. Watandars - Prominent Marathas from political and social points of view.
22. Sardars - Prominent Marathas from political and social points of view.
23. Deshmukhs - Maratha government officials.
24. Desais - Maratha government officials.

25. Deshpandes - Maratha government officials.
26. Deshkulkarnis - Maratha government officials.
27. Rekhta - Deccani Urdu.
28. Muqasa - Land revenue - assignments.
29. Patil - Maratha government officials.
30. Kulkarni - Maratha government official.
31. Chauth - Maratha tax of political nature.
32. Sardeshmukhi - Maratha tax of political nature.
33. Farman - Order.
34. Pattis - Maratha Revenue officials.
35. Faujdars - Maratha Revenue officials.
36. Mavles - Maratha Hill infantry.
37. Dhat - Maratha military rank.
38. Sultan - King or Emperor.
39. Amir-ul-Momimin - Highest noble.
40. Sultunate - Kingdom with Sultan as emperor.
41. Islam - Religion of Muslims.
42. Quran - Religious book of Muslims.
43. Prophet - God.
44. Musalman - Muslims.
45. Eals,Barons,Dukes,Knights,lords - Nobles.
46. Ahl-i-shamshir - Noble.
47. Ahl-i-Saif - Noble.
48. Amirs - Nobles.
49. Khans - Nobles.
50. Maliks - Nobles.
51. Sipah-Salar - Nobles.
52. Sar-Khel - Noble.
53. Shughl - Title of honour.
54. Khitab - Title of honour.

55. aqta - Fief during Delhi Sultunate.
56. Karkhanas - Work-shops.
57. Khuaja-Jahan - Title of nobles.
58. Nizam-ul-mulk - Title of noble.
59. Ulugh Khan - Title of noble.
60. Maratib - Title of noble.
6I. Ilbaris - Racial group of Central Asia.
62. Muqti - Fief.
63. Iqtadars - Holders of iqta ranks.
64. Yasayas - Decrees.
65. Omrah - Noble.
66. Rahdari - Road-tax.
67. Mahi - Tax on Fish.
68. Mallahi - Taxes on merchants.
69. Tarkari - Tax on vegetables.
70. Tahbazari - Ground-rent.
7I. Musadat - State-loan.
72. Shariat - Quranic doctrines.
73. Dushehra - Hindu festival.

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